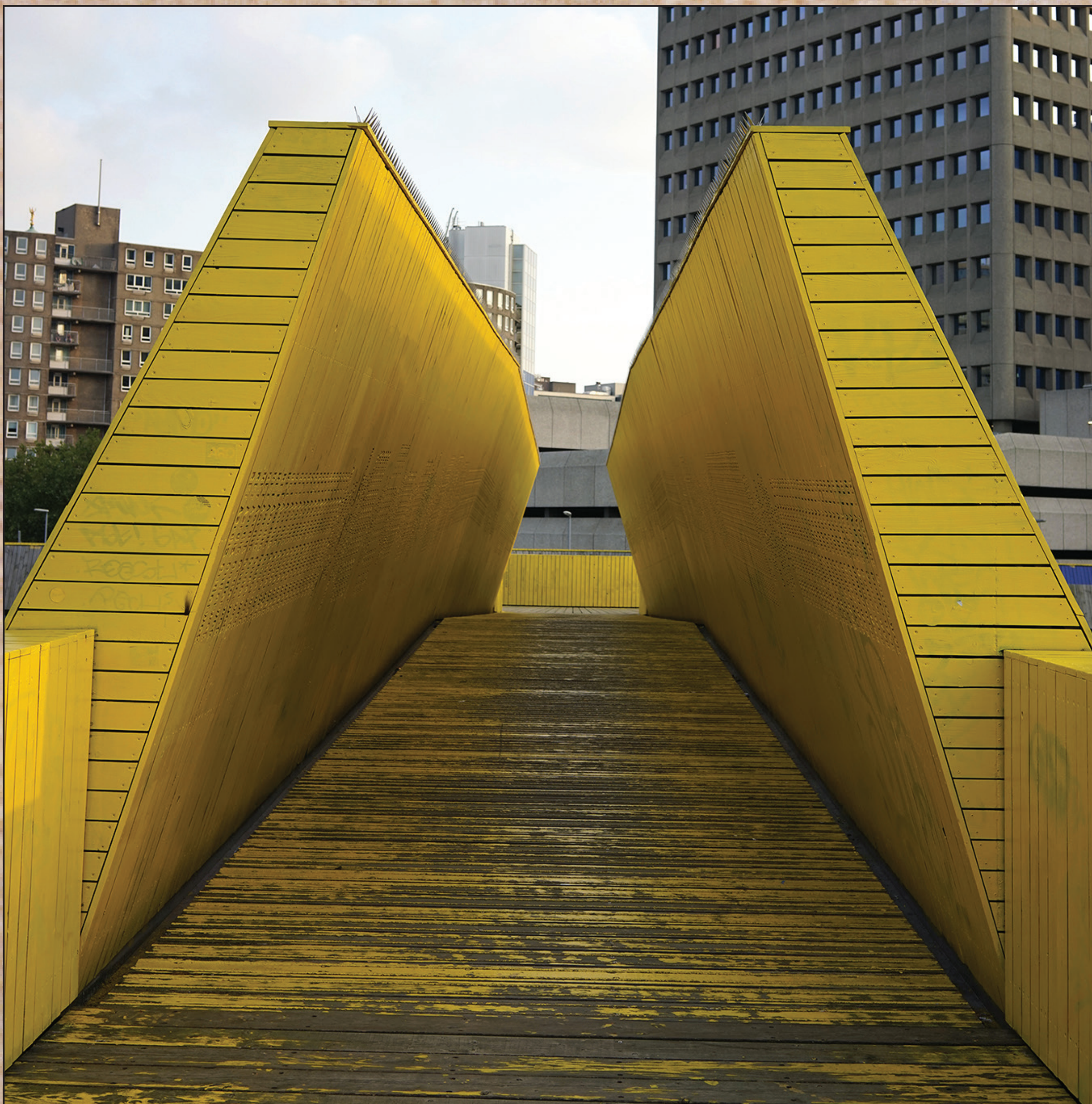
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BEYOND THE *GREEN NEW DEAL*. CONTEMPORARY DESIGN STRATEGIES AND EMERGING AESTHETICS IN TIMES OF URBAN TRANSITIONS

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ABSTRACT

In the perspective of contemporary urban design practices on environmental rebalancing, a fragmented conceptual framework emerges, where technicism seems the only approach which could provide concrete results vis-à-vis the crisis we are currently experiencing. Instead, the proposed contribution shifts the reflection on the reasons for an aesthetic experience that poses the revival of uncontrolled Nature at the core of the urban scene. The relationship between City-Architecture-Nature is critically interpreted through the design positions of the Modern and the Contemporary, to highlight a new immersive attitude, where sensorial becomes a specific feature in the development of current urban dwelling.

Keywords: urban Renaturation, transition, architectural aesthetics, sensoriality

OLTRE IL *NUOVO GREEN DEAL*. STRATEGIE PROGETTUALI CONTEMPORANEE ED ESTETICHE EMERGENTI PER LA TRANSIZIONE URBANA

SINTESI

Osservando il panorama contemporaneo del progetto urbano sul tema del riequilibrio ambientale, emerge un quadro concettuale frammentato, in cui l'apporto tecnicista sembra l'unico apparentemente in grado di dare risposte concrete alla crisi che viviamo. Il contributo proposto, invece, sposta volutamente la riflessione sulle ragioni di un'esperienza estetica che vede il dirompente ritorno sulla scena urbana di una Natura incontrollata. Il rapporto Città-Architettura-Natura è presentato attraverso la rilettura critica di alcune posizioni del Moderno e del Contemporaneo, per evidenziare un atteggiamento nuovo, immersivo, in cui il dato sensoriale costituisce uno specifico carattere progettuale nella costruzione presente dell'abitare urbano.

Parole chiave: rinaturalizzazione urbana, transizione, estetica architettonica, sensorialità

CONTEXT & POSITION

The New Urban Agenda and the European Green Deal: from policies to design strategies

On a global scale, contemporary political and public agendas enforce common decision-making processes towards more sustainable development. Indeed, the formal adoption of the 2030 Agenda (UNS, 2015) fosters concrete actions and shared policies through the formulations of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), i.e. 17 key issues defining structural transitions to be shared worldwide. Among them, the SDGs address the need to overcome the environmental conditions affecting the world regions' habitability, including the right to access to natural resources and protect them (UN-Habitat et al., 2018); the urgency for sustainable and transit-oriented mobility, and a significant change in urban development towards a zero-carbon society in terms of energy supply. Moreover, the United Nations Summits of New York and Paris (UNFCCC, 2015) marked a global step on contrasting Climate Change effects by explicitly posing policy obligations signed by 174 participating countries (Dimitrov, 2016, 1).

> *In this unprecedented era of increasing urbanization, and in the context of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the Paris Agreement, and other global development agreements and frameworks, we have reached a critical point in understanding that cities can be the source of solutions to, rather than the cause of, the challenges that our world is facing today.* (Clos, 2015, IV)

In this perspective, urban structural transitions enlighten a conceptual frame[1] primarily focused on conceiving the embodiment of this paradigmatic shift and its spatial impact on the urban realm. Arguing that spatial forms are direct consequences of social and economic constructs, the concretion of the Modern city appears, according to Iturbe, as "*a complex network of interlocking carbon forms, each of which replicates the myth of a limitless supply of energy and resources that is characteristic of a carbon-fueled culture of abundance*" (Iturbe, 2019, 13). The legacy of the XX century, with the remanences of its vast infrastructure networks and expanded peri-urban fields, has left inefficient and neglected urbanized areas affected by noise, emissions, physical barriers, low spatial quality, social deprivation and high economic costs (Shannon & Smets, 2010). Beyond the urgency of rethinking recent urbanization characterized by the strategy of an endless structural expansion,[2] we need to engage urban systems, as the spatial forms of present times, through emerging concepts such as adaptability to systemic transitions (Holling, 1978). Moreover, in doing so, we need to overcome current paradigms that still rely on the legacy from the past. It is not about changing them, rather creating another one.[3] In facing these pressures, how does the architectural project react? What is the challenge in trying to go beyond stale replicas of worlds inevitably, and under the eyes of all, lost? What does (urban) design in times of transitions[4] mean?

At a European level, the adoption of the Pact of Amsterdam[5] in 2016 and the European Green Deal[6] in 2019 represent the enhancement of proper policy-oriented actions by constructing a shared framework through the widespread participation of institutions, cultural and economic stakeholders, and citizens.[7] Precisely the establishment of a common policy framework has proved to be highly incisive on the physical transformation of cities and metropolitan areas. Rather than abstract policies, indeed, these choices are currently defining future cities' profiles. Several metropolitan areas have already adopted action plans to promote urban transitions, with a specific reference to adaptive strategies for climate change, profoundly directing the design discourse at reintegrating Nature in urbanscapes.[8]

1 About the interdisciplinary approach to urban transition, see Bulkeley & Betsill (2003). About specific interdisciplinary design approach, see Sijmons (2014).

2 Reference is to the work of Henri Lefebvre, in specific to his research on Urban Revolution. Another recent study is *The Endless City*, directed by Richard Burdett and Deyan Sudjic for the London School of Economics and Political Science, published in 2007. See also: Merrifield (2013).

3 Paraphrasing the words of Greta Thunberg at UN COP24 in 2018: "*And if solutions within the system are so impossible to find, maybe we should change the system itself*."

4 Similar topics have been recently discussed within the International Seminar *Design Actions in Urban Transitions. Architectural and Urban Design for Shifting Conditions*, hosted by the Politecnico di Milano on 30th October 2018, with the participation of six European universities, TU Delft, Polithecnika Warsawska, University of Ljubljana, NTU Athens, University of Antwerp, Politecnico di Milano.

5 The *Pact of Amsterdam*, the Urban Agenda policy for European Union, has been published on May 2016 (Pact of Amsterdam, 2016). See also UN-Habitat et al. (2018).

6 The European Green Deal was presented by the European Commission on December 2019 in Brussels (The European Green Deal, 2019).

7 "*In order to address the increasingly complex challenges in Urban Areas, it is important that Urban Authorities cooperate with local communities, civil society, businesses and knowledge institutions. Together they are the main drivers in shaping sustainable development with the aim of enhancing the environmental, economic, social and cultural progress of Urban Areas. EU, national, regional and local policies should set the necessary framework in which citizens, NGOs, businesses and Urban Authorities, with the contribution of knowledge institutions, can tackle their most pressing challenges*." (Pact of Amsterdam, 2016, 4).

8 Some examples, among many others, are the *Rotterdam Climate Change Adaptation Strategy* in 2015, the *Paris Climate Action Plan* in 2016, or the *London Environment Strategy* in 2016, see https://resourcecentre.c40.org/ (last access: 28. 4. 2020).

Urban Renaturation[9] shapes a common ground for various design practices to support the urgent requests for environmental rebalancing inbuilt contexts. It highlights an increasing awareness in design disciplines and, in some cases, the prevalence of eco-technicist solutions on the clarity of cultural positions. Within this framework, it is possible to recognize different interdisciplinary approaches. The first one refers to the discipline of urban planning, translating governance and policy indications into strategic guidelines for sustainable development, often with clear impacts on the physical and spatial assets (Bulkeley & Betsill, 2003). The second one merges natural sciences and environmental landscape design, addressing ecosystem services to improve urban resilience through nature-based solutions (Kabisch et al., 2018) and enhancing the presence of new blue and green infrastructures within urban contexts. A third approach refers to urban and architectural design scale with a specific focus on the reconfiguration of contemporary open public spaces (Pollak, 2006), infrastructural leftovers (Nijhuis et al., 2015), or abandoned urban complexes (Bergevoet & van Tuijl, 2016), through reuse and adaptive strategies. However, a common feature often relies on performativity, where the main strategical choices do not question innovation and quality of the spatial experience, limiting the results evaluation to an almost quantitative level (Gandy, 2015; Verovšek & Čavić, 2017). The interlacing of ecology, politics, technology, and social behavior for the design of urban environments is often lacking a broader perspective. Indeed, when approaching sustainable development and adaptation strategies, architectural aesthetics are overlooked, when it could actually provide a significant contribution to the definition of a changing paradigm.

The paper proposes a broader reflection on the return of an uncontrolled Nature on the urban scene, stressing the potential of aesthetic reasonings. Firstly, the relationship between City-Architecture-Nature is critically considered through a discontinuity in the Modernity and Contemporary design positions.

It is meant to highlight a new immersive attitude, where *sensorial* becomes a specific design character for inhabiting the present urban realm. The main discussion focuses on specific qualitative analysis of contemporary design practices, that are able to combine the urgency of climate change adaptation strategies with the remodeling of our familiar imagery for experiencing urbanity. The double reflection, between theoretical positions and design strategies, is based on a transdisciplinary approach that links practice-based research with the speculative dimension related to architectural aesthetics. The qualitative analysis of selected case studies aims at extracting a potential general design reconceptualization. The assessment of such case studies is introduced by three interdisciplinary categories, that are commons, prototypes, and wilderness. The objective is to explore the potential of rebuilding Nature within our domestic urban landscapes, not just in terms of strategies and technical solutions, but mostly addressing its consequences on spatial quality and its perception.

A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

From the ecstatic neutrality of the Nature to Sensorial Urbanism

> *When one looks at Nature through the glass walls of the Farnsworth House, it takes on a deeper significance than when one stands outside. More of Nature is thus expressed - it becomes part of a greater whole.* (Norberg-Schulz, 1958, 40)

The Nature that builds the Farnsworth House walls, conceived by the architect Mies Van der Rohe from 1945 to 1951, is a Nature bent to the built form, interpreted by its architectural measurements, and decomposed through time and light (Figure 1, 2). Indeed, the appreciation of this boundless space, a fragile envelope of thin glass-walls, can be obtained just standing in the house while looking outside, as in Mies central-view perspective drawings: from the interior towards the natural landscape (Cohen, 1996).

Through a process of detachment and abstraction, Modern architecture, in the interpretation of one of its masters, establishes a direct connection with the exterior and, according to that, focuses on the totality of the object in relation to the environment conceived as ecstatic neutrality (Tzonis & Lefaivre, 1986). Modern discourse identifies the environment as a proper category of design in a dialectic but also conflictual position vis-à-vis architecture. It is the result of a decisive split between human work and natural context, while architecture and urban design acquire the awareness of a new rational artificiality due to techniques and production processes.[10] The

9 *Urban Renaturation* refers to Ecological Restoration discipline, investing theoretical reflections and ongoing practices that ground on the renewed interrelation between urbanscape and Nature in an integrated approach, including trends and behaviors that affect all the social levels and reflect on design topics. The term describes a pervasive process of introducing the natural sphere within urban and metropolitan contexts beyond disciplinary compartments, present in contemporary architectural and urban design projects. Indeed, the role that natural environment takes nowadays within the city definitively exceeds the landscape sphere, referring to the presence of urban gardens and parks as practiced in XIX and XX centuries. It can be defined as specific contemporary process of urban naturalization. The term however differs from the north American meaning of "urban naturalization" that regards technical innovations to climate change effects, see https://www.london.ca/residents/Environment/Natural-Environments/Pages/Naturalization.aspx (last access: 30. 8. 2020). On the EU level, renaturation projects are related to the empowerment of nature-based solutions and social participation, see for example the H2020 report: https://ec.europa.eu/research/environment/index.cfm?pg=nbs (last access: 27. 7. 2020).

10 Reference is to the critical readings on Modern of Manfredo Tafuri, for example Tafuri (1977).





Figure 1, 2: Farnsworth House, Mies van de Rohe, Plano 1951 (Photo: Timothy Brown; Phil Beard; CC, Flickr).

characters of this detachment find in some figures, particularly in some architectural works, exemplary features not to provide solutions, rather to highlight the aesthetic attitude behind what can be defined as one of the main cultural issues of the time: how to deal with Nature.

> *It must be possible to solve the task of controlling nature and yet simultaneously create a new freedom.* (Van de Rohe, 1928)

According to Mies, Architecture must create conditions for new freedom, as it is intended as a work of necessity built through the understanding and the expression of the époque, and his contemporary époque grounds on a precise program:

> *The whole program* […] *consisted in establishing the new forms of the relationship between the house and the nature, considering the house itself as part of the nature that is a complementary part of human life.* […] *The contemporary city, with its infrastructures, seems to allow, at least theoretically, the ancient dream to equip the nature to be inhabited.* (Monestiroli, 1984, 9)

Therefore, the interior perspectives of Mies convey the idea of an irreducible truth, regarding the stasis and the durability of architecture as the first act of disciplinary autonomy with reference to the environment as the counterpart, i.e. the beloved and fearsome Nature (Padovan, 2001).

Similarly, as to the construction of the city, the battle engaged by Le Corbusier on the unhinging of the compact form and the antithesis between City and Nature remains exemplary and highly decisive for the consequences in planning and urban design experiences to come. The central assumption, underlying his theoretical formulations, moves from the observation of a necessary re-foundation of modern Urbanism: the XX century, as the present time, is based on mechanic circulation, where the city claims for a structural rethinking of its semantics.

> *Urbanism will quite with rue-corridor as today, and across the path of new developments will create, on a larger scale, the architectural symphony that has to be realized. The rue-corridor with two sidewalks, suffocated by high houses, must disappear. The cities have the right to be more than many buildings with many corridors. Urbanism claims for uniformity in details and movements in whole.* (Le Corbusier, 1924, 35)

The rule of the modern city construction consists in the functional reorganization of social life translated in precise design issues: density related to the recognition of different architectural dwelling typologies; artificialization of nature that reflects the reintroduction of the natural environment recaptured to the city as leisure equipment provision; and circulation, finally, that structures the urban frame acquiring three-dimensionality and depth, once it is freed from the physical constraint of the tissues. The extreme idealization and the pictorial character of the environment as contemplative background are quite relevant features of the relation between City and Nature, as recognizable by the positions proposed. Looking at those models, today, they clearly show a limit, but at the same time, they represent an essential step where design approaches Nature as the counter-element of architectural research. Mies identifies a binomial that nowadays becomes increasingly crucial, establishing the level of investigation on the poetic interdependence between Architecture and Environment. Over the last decades, the architectural design research progressively moved from the Modernist notion of environment as openness, as a counter element of the built fabric or a neutral space equipped to be inhabited, to that of a hyper-characterized environment (Goodbun et al., 2012) continuously shaped by new social reinterpretations and processes of re-signification (Berlingieri, 2018).

> *Is it possible to combine the different approaches to contemporary urbanism with a 'sensorial urbanism', capable of offering a broader understanding of urban settings, interested in describing the character and atmosphere of places, and aiming to contribute to a new definition of public space?* (Zardini, 2015, 63)

The outlined position challenges the existence of an alternative perspective of signification that aims at rethinking a close relationship between thought and poetic image. Among others, Zardini clearly states the fact that climate change and architectural design are not only dealing with an eco-technical problem of rebalancing, but they are the new witnesses of a more profound phenomenon of urban renaturation. The latter deals with sensoriality and wilderness, offering alternatives and still unexplored ideas on how common spaces can be reassessed by architectural and urban design. The most relevant experiences that are currently reshaping the XX century ideal antithetic relation, from a semantic point of view, insist on the importance to conceive a new co-inhabitance between the uncontrolled natural status of the environment with the one of the artifice, order and physical control that still organize and embody the imagery of urban and metropolitan contexts.[11]

> *Gardening and landscape planning deal with the same domain but are different discipli-*

11 About the binomial City-Nature, an interesting interpretation comes from the philosophical reflections about the different meanings and conceptualizations of "landscape" and "nature", see Rocca (2020).



Figure 3: Serpentine Gallery Pavillion, Peter Zumthor and Piet Oudolf, London 2011 (Photo: Loz Pycock; CC, Wikimedia Commons).

> *nes. That is the key point. As the 'scape' in landscape indicates, landscape planning is a scenic art and a visual methodology. The planner stands 'outside' the landscape and visually manipulates it. In gardening, on the other hand, no privileged position from which a 'planner' observes and manipulates the scenery exists. The 'gardener' is always inside the garden.* (Kuma, 1997, 49)

Kengo Kuma in his essay *Gardening vs Architecture* further argues that:

> *The gardener, however, is forever detained in the garden.* [...] *There is no distance between him and the garden. There can be no temporal 'point' where a goal is reached, and completion is achieved. There is no completion for a garden. Time continues to flow forever. In gardening, everything is continuous – the environment and the object; the subject and the object, time, and the world.* (Kuma, 1997, 49)

The change of perspective lies in the passage from the modern ideology of distance, and of environment as neutral space, to that of the embedded, a passage sharply taking place in the blurry limits between physical and virtual reality as a consequence of new pervasive technologies. Similar is for the physical design of urban spaces, where the terms character, atmosphere, sensoriality denote a new behavior, an aesthetic experience based on closeness, immersion, and the disappearing of distances in conceiving spatial meanings (Figure 3). The discontinuity of Modern and Contemporary (design) cultural positions stands also in their form of representation: from the bird-eye perspective of Le Corbusier and the central view of Mies, losing the capacity to describe the world we live, to a new interior view that is non-hierarchical, temporary, and unstable.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Contemporary urban design practices and emerging aesthetics

The main discussion presents a selection of case studies focusing on precise urban design strategies that deal with climate change adaptation and urban transition toward sustainable development, specifically investigating into the reconfiguration of open urban spaces in metropolitan conditions.

Within the contemporary panorama, made of a plurality of approaches and argumentations (see Context & Position), three accounts are recognized when dealing with reinterpreting Nature back to the urban scene. They are defined by the interdisciplinary categories of commons, prototype, and wilderness. The first one relates to commons.[12]

This topic reintroduces the necessity to attribute a socio-environmental value to shared goods regarding the protection of soil, water, air, and the primary resources to be preserved and enhanced in the design of open public spaces. It also relates to a sort of permanent status of negotiation between different actors, such as public bodies, citizens, and developers, where open spaces are currently at the core of the public debate.

Within the idea of a shared asset, the reintroduction of Nature in urban open spaces assumes the symbolic form of compensation in re-establishing the necessary ecological structures to support and upgrade urban environment. In that sense, design practices often combine social inclusion and ecological approach by giving back vacant and abandoned places to the community, residual or lost along the urban expansion timeline. They become places that exacerbate the potential variety of usages by multiplying the functional solutions towards environmental transitions, as in the case of the Water square Benthemplein[13] in Rotterdam (Figure 4, 5). The water square combines environmental purposes of water storage, to improve the

12 Regarding the conceptual framework and design strategies of commons see as references Borch & Kornberger (2015). More general references are to Ostrom (1990) and Chipperfield (2012).

13 See http://www.urbanisten.nl/wp/?portfolio=waterplein-benthemplein (last access: 8. 5. 2020).

quality and the social meaning of public space in peripheral neighborhoods. Most of the time, the water square is a recreational and dynamic place for the local community participating in the design process. The water appears as an essential element in the spatial organization of the square, both as rainwater transported via large stainless-steel gutters into the basins, and as a water wall and rain well. Once collected in underground infiltration devices, water helps to maintain the vegetation during dry seasons. The typology research, first presented at the IABR in 2005, became official policy for the city vision on water management in 2007, the *Rotterdam Waterplan 2*, followed by pilot studies and the first experiment in Benthemsquare. The project, completed by De Urbanisten in 2013, today constitutes one of the first European examples of urban design where spatial flexibility follows an adaptive strategy to climate change dynamics (Berlingieri & Triggianese, 2019). Moreover, the environment becomes evident in the project because of water visibility as the main compositional element of the square. At the same time, it also represents a means for the place's aesthetic experience in a powerful combination with its social value.

Another representative case is the Luchtsingel pedestrian bridge[14] in Rotterdam. This bottom-up initiative started in 2012 with the construction of the first public infrastructure promoted by inhabitants' crowdfunding (Figure 6, 7). The experiment, launched by the design studio ZUS (Zones Urbaines Sensibles), was created to reconnect three disaggregated districts in the heart of the city. Starting from the pedestrian bridge crossing the railway line in the city center, the project has achieved greater importance and involvement for both inhabitants and the municipality. Between 2012 and 2018, the redevelopment of the Schieblock office tower, a new incubator for growing businesses, and the creation of the Dakakker (Figure 8), a shared agricultural rooftop, were completed together with the regeneration of surroundings open spaces. Finally, the Pompenburg park and the former Hofplein station roof, on the other side of the Luchtsingel, are currently under development to be used as green spaces and venues for events. Beyond the "socio-green transformation" of the neighborhood, the project explores the possibility of alternative urbanism based on the concept of permanent temporality (ZUS, 2016). It is based on the idea that, as a design feature of transition, the contemporary city must progressively change through partial and temporary adaptive solutions.

> *Just like other living systems, the urban system forms itself over time. Therefore, the ability to deal with the unforeseen events and uncertainty in an important strength. Sustainable urban development is made possible by leaving things open instead of pinning them down – not instant urban development, but incremental and adaptive urban development. This creates a city of permanent temporality, a city that permanently develops through temporary interventions.* (ZUS, 2016, 307)

The Luchsingel project combines the enhancement of natural spaces within the urban fabric, i.e. infrastructural leftovers and underused or abandoned buildings, with active social participation by the crowdfunding initiative that supported the first stage as a bottom-up process. Beyond that, it promotes a new "way of doing" that fosters a permanent and temporary development of the urban (public) realm, a clear position that also introduces the topic of urban prototyping[15].

The interest toward this category relies on the capacity of a progressive model making, not only due to temporality but to the possibility of constant manipulations on the urban model, also based on opensource design practices, where the results are provisional, an intermediate status between urban policies and their spatial translation, constantly undergoing updating procedures. The emerging character signs a key passage from a thinking model based on visions to another based on the concreteness of measurable results. It raises a sort of inability to incardinate the single project within a broader picture; hence the public space becomes a sort of corollary of practical examples (Bergevoet & van Tuijl, 2016), a toolbox of design instruments addressed to non-standard customization of open urban spaces.

Indeed, regeneration processes and the requalification of open public spaces represent exponential challenges in urban and metropolitan conditions, where cities claim a more general reframing of planning strategies of adaptation and mitigation for climate change effects.[16] However, large-scale visions are replaced by general strategic guidelines, while design proposals present themselves as real prototypes, addressing ecological balances through practice-based experiments and discrete adjustments (Valente, 2016). Moreover, the double register of large-scale strategies and small or mid-scale interventions often do not speak the same language, generating a kind of schizophrenia in the

14 For more information: https://www.area-arch.it/the-luchtsingel/ (last access: 8. 5. 2020).
15 For references on urban prototyping see Verebes (2016); Verebes (2013). For a more general overview of the interlacing between new technologies and urban design, in an era of open-source and cocreation, see Ratti (2014).
16 See, for example, the case of *New York City Climate Strategic Plan* at http://onenyc.cityofnewyork.us/ (last access: 8. 5. 2020).





Figure 4, 5: Water Square Benthemplein, De Urbanisten, Rotterdam 2013 (Photo: Yağız Söylev).

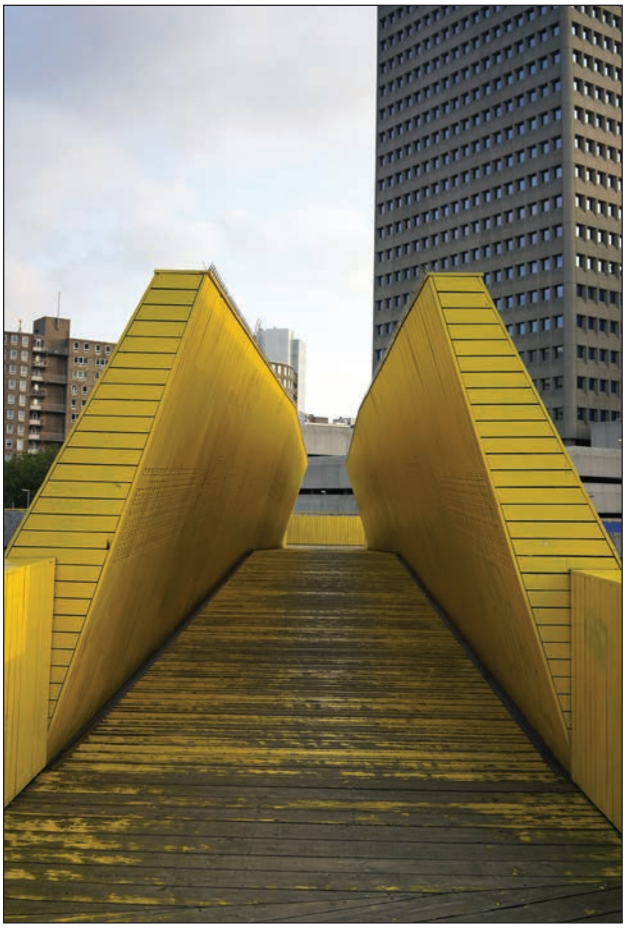




Figure 6, 7: Luchtsingel bridge and the Hofplein station, ZUS, Rotterdam 2015 (Photo: F. Berlingieri).

concretion of un-dialoguing ecological fragments. Indeed, they no longer need to demonstrate profound relations with the urban locus, if not resulting in a contextual disengagement while strongly projected towards technological innovations (Berlingieri, 2018).

According to that, several ongoing projects are based on actions of urban reforestation for reducing air pollution and CO2 emissions but also contrasting heat waves and the increase of seasonal high temperatures in cities. Examples are the masterplan Parc aux Angeliques[17] conceived by Michel Desvign between 2010 and 2017 for the right bank of Bordeaux, or large urban areas depaving actions to increase soil permeability against rainfalls, such as the recent project Parco della Biblioteca degli Alberi in Milan. This is a significant regeneration project that installs a green heart as a reconnection of three different neighborhoods in Porta Nuova. Such experiences are profoundly changing the image of the contemporary city, especially in Europe, with the introduction of new environmental restoration techniques, i.e. nature-based solutions (Kabisch et al., 2018), or the use of technological devices in order to get quantitative responses to transformation processes for new sustainable developments (Ratti & Claudel, 2016). The result is a progressive and innovative modification of the role of public space that overwrites the existing urban pattern as an integrated environmental system. Moreover, within the prototype category, various practices are expanding the use of big data, sensors, computation, and robotics within design processes (Buš, 2019). New technological devices become relevant components to set measurable evidence for ecological and social requests, a sort of equation between creative processes and quantifiable results.

An interesting case is the technological design-based practice of Studio Roosengaarde. The studio continually moves between the folds of artistic installations, temporary design of public spaces, and experiments on the use of technological visual devices.

17 See http://micheldesvignepaysagiste.com/en/bordeaux-parc-aux-ang%C3%A9liques-0 (last access: 27. 4. 2020).



Figure 8: Dakakker rooftop, ZUS, Rotterdam 2015 (Photo: F. Berlingieri).

Instead, the contents of the installations focus on the evidence of climatic effects and the challenges they imply. A recent example is the Waterlicht[18] installation, which has been exhibited in various cities worldwide. It brings the theme of rising sea level and flooding into urban areas, making the water appear as a visual and sound element in temporary open space installations. The virtual reality becomes the key to visually manifest environmental urgencies, and it fosters a new imagery of urban open space and its experience through sensoriality. Another practice that triggers the imagination of new worlds through the intertwining of technologies and design solutions is Philippe Rahm architects. The Jade Eco Park, recently completed in Taichung, is a 70-hectare park in the north district of the city, based and organized on climatic variations. From warmer to colder areas, from wet to dry, from polluted to cleaner, it generates a diversity of microclimates and a multitude of different experiences open to visitors' free will (Figure 9). The approach relies on the consideration of climate change as an opportunity by rethinking the architecture and the urbanization of the city from an atmospheric point of view, providing new, even sensual, quality of life to its inhabitants (Rahm Architectes, 2017).

Is it possible to test the concept of sensoriality in contemporary urban design practices? Is closeness, as Kengo Kuma's passage from landscape to gardening, a possible conceptual reference through which the incremental presence of Nature in contemporary urban systems can be observed?

The third concept, through which contemporary design practices approach Urban Renaturation, is wilderness.[19] The return to an Arcadian feeling refers to the post-industrialization phase of urban fabrics, where Nature took over what human production had left abandoned in the change of economic systems at the end of the XX century. In this context, "*the distinction between human artifice*

18 See https://www.studioroosegaarde.net/project/waterlicht (last access: 12. 4. 2020).

19 Regarding the meaning of wilderness as space or region, leftover by man to nature evolution, a main reference is to the position of Gilles Clements. Recent relevant research on wilderness in urban and metropolitan conditions is developed by the geographer and urbanist Matthew Gandy, for example, in the documentary Natura Urbana. The Brachen of Berlin (2015), see also Gandy (2013). About the concept and the interdisciplinary framework regarding urban wilderness, see Kowarik (2018).



Figure 9: Jade Eco Park, Philippe Rahm, Taichung 2018 (Photo: F. Berlingieri).

and ecological succession becomes progressively blurred" (Gandy, 2006, 70). The category of wilderness, indeed, engages the speculative dimension and the remains of the antithetical relationship between City and Nature, overcome by a series of experimental practices engaging architecture, art, and new technologies (Böhme, 2017). In this semantic reversal, the role of Nature as an integrated component works not just as a moral dictate but as form-generative and sense-production for contemporary urbanscapes. The recent works of Piet Oudolf[20] and Olafur Eliasson[21] can provide some insightful examples. The Dutch garden designer, a leading figure of the New Perennial[22] movement, brought the concepts of spontaneity, structural complexity and seasonal interaction in his landscape projects to international attention, primarily through his work on some of the world's most celebrated contemporary gardens. In particular, the High Line project in New York and other urban renaturation projects (Figure 10), such as the Boompjeskade in Rotterdam, reintroduce large spaces of naturality in the heart of the city.

An uncontrolled Nature builds unexpected and changing scenarios through the careful selection of perennials plants varieties, where the senses of the users are fully involved, recovering an emotional state of immersion in the natural world. On the other hand, through artistic and sensorial installations, Olafur Eliasson's research focuses on perception and movement of the space that surrounds us, in spatial and environmental terms. Natural phenomena are at the center of his interventions, which are investigated in their scientific aspect and in their influence on human life. The Weather Project in 2003, a site-specific installation on the phenomenon of climate change exhibited at the Turbine Hall of the Tate Modern in London, strongly presents a scenario on global warming through the

20 See https://oudolf.com/ (last access: 30. 7. 2020).
21 See https://www.olafureliasson.net/ (last access: 30. 7. 2020).
22 The New Perennial movement (working with perennial plant variety), or New Wave Planting, refers to landscape design discipline, working on the contemporary reinterpretation of the romantic garden, starting from Chinese and English traditions, in which the complexity and wildness of Nature becomes a specific object for aesthetic investigation, see https://www.landscape.net.au/a-passion-for-perennials/ (last access: 12. 1. 2020).

use of a semi-circular screen, a ceiling of mirrors, and artificial mist to create the illusion of a massive indoor sunset. The Eliasson's works are political, beyond being aesthetic investigations on climate change perception:

> *All human activities have a carbon footprint. Individuals, however, can only do so much. Governments and the international community need to get ambitious about climate action now. But to make this happen, we all need to be active in our own fields and at all possible levels. Now is the time to act on behalf of the planet.* (Eliasson, 2020)

Despite their different disciplinary platforms, both works present themselves mainly as intentional poetics to reintroduce Nature back to the city, based on material and phenomenological approach, towards a new idea of seductive wildness. The sensorial experience becomes a key factor in rethinking public open spaces, exceeding ecological urgencies and technicist responses. The question beyond the Green New Deal is reversing the relation between artifice and Nature and refers to a new embedded position, a space of ambivalence (Gandy, 2013).

In brief, the chapter describes the current urban renaturation process through three specific accounts, combining and comparing the most recent subject-related research with current urban design practices. Indeed, the proposed categories of commons, prototypes, and wildernesses highlight different implications. The first explains the new social and ethical value of renaturation actions, not only due to the new forms of active participation but also redefining the leading players in the City-Nature binomial. The second category, *urban prototyping*, highlights the methodological changes taking place in urban design practice, concerning temporary and discrete dimensions of a new "way of doing". Finally, the third category expresses the change of position previously discussed in the theoretical references (see: A theoretical framework). Within the three accounts, the description and analysis of some case studies of contemporary urban design experiences explain the sensorial datum through the concepts of atmosphere, immersive attitude, and new materiality. This character massively and progressively emerges in the last examples, where the architectural project often combines with the aesthetic research through hybrid or artistic forms of expression.

CONCLUSIONS

A lateral perspective on ecology and urban realm

Emissions reduction and spatial footprint, reconversion and recycling, flexibility, and ecological balances have a profound impact on urban environments. Therefore, architectural and urban design are deeply involved in envisioning new strategies for implementing the quality of the cities we live in. The observed phenomenon according to which contemporary cities are undergoing a resizing of their artificial footprint, with the increase in new natural spaces (ecological corridors, wetlands, forests, large depaved areas), inevitably has had consequences not just on technical responses to the mitigation of climate change effects in urban contexts, but it has mostly been affected by new emerging aesthetics. This phenomenon relates to the image and the meaningful world of the city that we know, where the XX century leading features of order, safety, hygiene, and artificiality are over, since they have been challenged by the advent of something external, uncontrolled, and wild. The proposed comparison between design experiences and current research explores and fosters emergent theories in architectural aesthetics, offering a lateral perspective on the relationship between ecology and the urban realm.

> *By moving away from the idea of the city as the antithesis of an imagined bucolic ideal we can begin to explore the production of urban space as a synthesis between nature and culture in which long-standing ideological antinomies lose their analytical utility and political resonance. Thus far, however, the development of more fluid and mutually constitutive conceptions of urban nature have had relatively little impact on popular discourses of "ecological urbanism" where the emphasis has tended towards the functional dynamics of metabolic pathways or the promotion of new forms of bio-diversity as a corollary of social and cultural complexity. It is perhaps only through an ecologically enriched public realm that new kinds of urban environmental discourse may emerge that can begin to leave the conceptual lexicon of the nineteenth--century city behind.* (Gandy, 2006, 71)

The contribution presents a preliminary hypothesis of re-conceptualize current practices through a specific filter of an architectural aesthetic approach to the contemporary relation between City and Nature, and to test the paradigmatic shift towards a new ecological sensibility in designing open urban spaces. Despite the importance that the urban and metropolitan dimensions assume in the general layout of the contemporary territorial assets, however, scarce space is offered to critical reflections on the strategies and best practices of the architectural and urban design related to the environmental question. In spite of the punctual design practices observation, it is necessary to develop common and acceptable narratives that



Figure 10: Lurie Garden, Piet Oudolf, Chicago 2019 (Photo: Esther Westerweld, CC, Wikimedia Commons).

could orient open space design towards an integrated approach, taking into account two fundamental elements: ethics and aesthetics.

> *From a phenomenological point of view, the aesthetical dimension of an architectural work has to do with the sensible, emotional experience of space, once we consider the space as the element of our dwelling on Earth, that is, according to Heidegger, as the irreducible condition of our ethos.* (Younés, 2015, 65)

This paper poses the urgency to escape easy formalistic trends in favor of "eco-friendly spaces", accepting precariousness as a framework for working in times of structural transitions. The attempt is to enlighten the current moral dictate through emerging spatial poetics, envisioning the philosophical question behind. Indeed, although sensoriality and wilderness in public open space design witness the crisis of a modern cultural model based on critical distance, they provide a reversed immersive attitude that could reframe (a new cultural) coherency between time and place.

PRESEGANJE KONCEPTA *GREEN NEW DEAL*. NOVE PERSPEKTIVE O SODOBNIH OBLIKOVALSKIH STRATEGIJAH IN PORAJAJOČI ESTETIKI V ČASU URBANIH TRANZICIJ

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POVZETEK

Nujni ukrepi, ki jih narekujejo učinki podnebnih sprememb, oblikujejo danes skupno podlago za različne oblikovalske prakse, ki skušajo, bodisi na podlagi modelov od spodaj navzgor ali modelov od zgoraj navzdol, odgovoriti na trenutne tranzicije. Večino lahko obravnavamo v okviru urbane renaturacije, krovnega termina, ki je zaradi množice predstavljenih pristopov in argumentov v nevarnosti, da postane splošni vodilni motiv (lajtmotiv), kot zamegljena ali presvetljena slika. Prispevek skuša ponuditi bolj usmerjeno branje, pri čemer področje raziskovanja omejimo z natančno perspektivo: s prepletom arhitekturnih praks in širšega kulturnega vprašanja o odnosu med mestom in naravo. Članek, izhajajoč iz modernizma, obravnava opis sodobne panorame urbanističnega načrtovanja skozi koncepte skupnega, prototipov in divjine ter naslavlja prenovljeno spekulativno razsežnost, ki je potrebna za zajezitev splošne ekotehničnosti, ki pravzaprav zakriva in izravnava globlje razloge za raziskave, tudi v arhitekturi.

Ključne besede: urbana renaturacija, tranzicija, arhitekturna estetika, senzoričnost

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DIGITAL INNOVATION: WHAT CAN PERIPHERY LEARN FROM GLOBAL CENTRES?

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ABSTRACT

Global industrial restructuring is a main reason for the current state and shape of contemporary European cities. A major problem in peripheral regions in Europe is the loss of the process and assembly segment of industrial production. Two approaches, tourism and high-tech innovation, are at the forefront of city transformation in post-industrial Europe. As tourism is a well-established development driver, we analyse whether digital innovation, a subset of high-tech innovation, can be a parallel pathway for peripheral regions to achieve more resilient and balanced development. This paper describes two digital innovation models, one in London and another in Berlin, as city development drivers to speculate on their limits and suitability for developing peripheral regions. As their direct translation is difficult, this paper defines assessment criteria within the triple helix model of innovation and re-casts them through the concept of slow innovation, which is applicable in peripheral regions. We conclude that there are different pathways to achieving suitable digital innovation conditions and that although digital innovation is currently not a major development driver in the periphery, it will be viable if interpreted through peripheral concepts.

Keywords: digital innovation, peripheral regions, redevelopment, Berlin digital innovation cluster, London digital innovation cluster

INNOVAZIONE DIGITALE: COSA PUÒ IMPARARE LA PERIFERIA DAI CENTRI GLOBALI?

SINTESI

La ristrutturazione industriale globale è una delle cause principali della condizione e della forma delle città europee contemporanee. Uno dei problemi più rilevanti delle regioni periferiche europee è stata la perdita del segmento processo e assemblaggio (P&A) nella produzione industriale. Due approcci, turismo e innovazione ad alto contenuto tecnologico, giocano un ruolo di primaria importanza per la trasformazione urbana dell'Europa post-industriale. Poichè il turismo è già una prassi consolidata, è utile chiedersi se l'innovazione digitale, un sub-settore dell'innovazione tecnologica, potrebbe rappresentare un percorso parallelo per favorire uno sviluppo più bilanciato e resiliente nelle regioni periferiche. L'articolo descrive due modelli di innovazione digitale, uno a Londra e uno a Berlino, come motori di sviluppo urbano, mettendone in luce limiti e potenzialità per lo sviluppo delle regioni periferiche. Essendo difficile replicare direttamente questi approcci, si utilizza qui la definizione di criteri di valutazione sulla base del modello di innovazione a tripla elica, rielaborandone i contenuti attraverso il concetto di innovazione lenta applicabile nelle regioni periferiche. Le conclusioni illustrano che esistono diversi percorsi verso l'innovazione digitale, e che nonostante quest'ultima non sia il principale motore di sviluppo nelle periferie, è altresì praticabile se reinterpretata attraverso concetti periferici.

Parole chiave: Innovazione digitale, regioni periferiche, riqualificazione, Berlin digital innovation cluster, London digital innovation cluster

INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH QUESTION

Due to the occurrence of profound economic change related to the globalisation of production systems around the turn of the millennium, the European Union (EU) and the rest of the Global North saw an increased focus on both tertiary-sector services and the high-tech and innovation segment of industrial production. According to ESPON (2005, 9), '*manufacturing industries are in decline in most [EU] regions*'. A major reason for this was offshoring of the labour-intensive process and assembly (P&A) segment of industrial production (e.g. tailoring, shoemaking and assembly of kitchen appliances, toys and other low-tech products) to developing countries such as China (Lin, 1997; Yeung, 2001; Wu, 2007). Within the EU, the peripheral regions were more dependent on the P&A segment than the central areas, such as 'the European Pentagon'—which is the most urbanized area of the EU, surrounded by Hamburg, Munich, Milano, Paris and London. The economic consequences were more severe in the peripheral regions that were heavily dependent on industry and weaning protective polices. Suitable examples include the Multi Fibre Arrangement and the decline of the apparel industry of northern Italy after its conclusion (Hadjimichalis, 2006; Micelli & Sacchetti, 2014). Various strategies were proposed to substitute for the P&A loss – '*jobs were increasingly created in the service sector and in knowledge-intensive professions*' (OECD, 2015, 26). Just as Fordism instigated the rise of the middle class in the 1940s, the introduction of service economy ushered the rise of the 'creative class' (Florida, 2002), which is constantly engaged in the innovation and production of consumer products and services. An important service sector that reinvented itself during this time was tourism, which substantially aided the development of peripheral EU regions through concepts such as industrial culture (Harfst et al., 2018). This was followed by high-tech innovation—whose conceptual background can be traced back to Marshall's (1890) industrial agglomerations and the concept of region-related variety of production, which continues into a regional innovation system debate (Doloreux & Gomez, 2017). Creating a viable, innovation-based economy is a long-term effort and requires strategic development that is more readily achievable in central regions (Doloreux & Gomez, 2017; Benneworth & Hospers, 2007). However, the concept of slow innovation contradicts this belief and presents the conditions under which innovation can flourish in the periphery (Shearmur, 2015). Therefore, it offers a different reading of conditions for innovation and indicates that the dimensions of classical innovation approaches do not apply to the periphery (Eder, 2019; Eder & Trippl, 2019).

The reason we deal with digital innovation in peripheral regions is to examine the possibilities of widening the economic base. Ever since the P&A loss and reorientation of services, tourism has been one of the most visible and readily achievable sectors. However, heavy reliance on one service sector is strategically problematic, as it creates regions that are non-resilient to change. Marshall (1890), saw variety-poor industrial regions '*liable to extreme depression, in case of a falling-off in the demand for its produce*' (Marshall, 1890, 157). The same holds for service sectors as well. A timely example is the recent economic problems faced by inner-city areas where a high portion of the economy is based on cultural tourism. The non-existent touristic migration due to the COVID-19 pandemic (Gössling et al., 2021) made these areas virtually empty. Therefore, it is sensible to diversify the economic base, particularly in today's contemporary times, when the world is so interdependent and thus frequently in crisis. A successful region should, therefore, be based on the understanding of robustness and complementarity of either different industrial producers or different tertiary sectors that support and complement each other.

The diversification towards a knowledge economy, of which innovation is a part, is one such method that complements tourism well. '*Overall, globalisation and constantly changing markets have meant that knowledge and innovation have become key factors in the sustainable development of any economy*' (Galvao et al., 2019, 813). In parallel with the cohesion policy that strives for equal development of all EU regions, the knowledge economy is a key policy directive of the EU and foresees knowledge production as an important part of the EU economy. Innovation was one of the main development drivers in the Lisbon Strategy and the Europe 2020 policy, implemented through the Innovation Union flagship framework (EC, 2010).

This paper deals with the peripheral regions of the EU (ESPON, 2005; Davies & Michie, 2011) and analyses how 'digital innovation' (OECD, 2019)—a specific type of innovation—can aid in their transformation. Digital innovation can be exemplified through the new types of companies such as Uber, Netflix, Airbnb and easyJet. These companies rely heavily on digital data and digital infrastructure, and through their operations, radically disrupt the management practices of existing services in the field. In the report Digital Innovation: Seizing Policy Opportunities, OECD (2019) identifies four basic changes in innovation dynamics. (1) The data are becoming key input for innovation products; (2) the products are mainly services; (3) the speed of innovation is increasing because of its non-physical nature and

quick production capability and (4) innovation is ever more collaborative, as it is interdisciplinary and requires varied expertise (OECD, 2019, 26). The conditions regarding the classical innovation concepts of 'knowledge spillovers' (Komninos, 2002), 'buzz' (Storper & Venables, 2004) and 'city as place' (Amin & Thrift, 2002) indicate that digital innovation will favour global hubs such as Berlin and London, where it is indeed an important part of the economy.

This study investigates whether peripheral regions represent viable hubs for digital innovation ecosystems despite their less favourable global position, which is a prerequisite for digital innovation.

METHOD AND STRUCTURE

This study uses a qualitative rather than quantitative method of investigation. The theme of the study is examined in terms of examples and the conditions under which they are sustained. The study draws upon a 'thick description' defined by Geertz (1973), where through the narrative depth of the argument, the concrete world is described and individual examples are examined that seem relevant for the research question.

The paper describes two digital innovation models—'Silicon Roundabout' (Old Street) in London and 'Silicon Allee' (Torstrasse) in Berlin—as the city development drivers and speculates on their limits and suitability for developing peripheral regions. As it is difficult to translate the two examples onto the periphery, this paper achieves this by defining the assessment criteria within the triple helix of innovation (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 1995) and recasts them through the concept of slow innovation (Shearmur, 2015), which is applicable in peripheral regions. The two examples are reviewed under these criteria to identify the characteristics that make them successful. This forms the basis for discussion to speculate which characteristics, and to what extent, are reproducible in the peripheral regions or if any characteristic of peripheral regions can substitute them.

As the theme of this study is to test the viability of the two models, it is impossible to deal with them through the classical approach of literature review. Thus, when describing the key concepts, we use review articles and key thinkers in parallel with the argument.

The case studies are explained through research articles and hard data. As there are limited hard data on the development of regional innovation systems and spin-offs generated by the research community (Kozina & Bole, 2018, 262), we augmented the research material with the reports provided by visible Inno-tech companies themselves. Although some bias might exist, a rough estimate in terms of the investment value and direction of the innovation field is possible. In addition, these reports appropriately describe the topography of innovation in different cities. The data were gathered from several independent sources, such as the online data provider for start-ups Dealroom.co, the webpage of European Digital City Index 2016, State of EU Tech Report 2019 by the venture capital (VC) firm Atomico, and the Deloitte Tech Hub Potential Index for Germany.

The rest of the paper is organised into three sections. First, the main concepts of peripheral regions—digital innovation, triple helix of innovation and slow innovation—are reviewed and the assessment criteria are identified. Second, the two models of digital innovation—Silicon Allee and Silicon Roundabout—are reviewed under the identified criteria. Finally, the viability of the identified triple helix requirements is validated through slow innovation characteristics in peripheral regions; if they are not viable, the specific innovation concepts of peripheral regions that can substitute them are discussed.

DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS AND CRITERIA

Peripheral regions

In the literature and in policy, peripheral regions in the EU have not been clearly defined (Davies & Michie, 2011). Depending on the country and sector, the dimensions that define peripherality shift with the topic and geographic scale. Davies & Michie identified a set of criteria ranging from poor access to global markets and service centres, through low population density, aging or declining population, to limited access to the services of general interest. ESPON (2005) defines functional urban areas (FUAs) as a measurable agglomeration concept in which urban functions have a critical density. Here, the EU Pentagon, an area surrounded by Hamburg, Munich, Milano, Paris and London, represents '*the European core with approximately 14% of the EU27 area, 32% of its population and 43% of its GDP*' (ESPON, 2005, 3). The rest is considered periphery. Meanwhile, the concept of developing Metropolitan European Growth Areas (MEGAs) additionally accounts for peripheral centres as important nodes. MEGAs are identified through the following four criteria: economic mass, competitiveness, global connectivity and knowledge basis. These criteria enable us to connect the concepts of geography to that of the triple helix of innovation, which has the following three dimensions: presence of industries (corresponding to the economic mass and global connectivity),

collaboration with universities (corresponding to the knowledge basis) and policies to support the connections (corresponding to competitiveness).

The peripheral regions referred to here are outside the Pentagon because of the factors such as lower competitiveness and human capital, and represent the FUAs around level-4 MEGAs (e.g. Ljubljana, Lodz, Poznan, Riga and Sofia) (ESPON, 2005, 117). These factors are mainly attributed to the lack of direct global connections or to absence of visible seat of multinationals. When talking about periphery, we should not ignore the importance of small- and medium-sized towns (SMESTOs), as they 'form important hubs and links, especially for rural regions' (ESDP, 1999). Bole et al. (2016) reported that it is exactly SMESTOs in peripheral regions like the Alps that achieve job density per inhabitant similar to that observed in larger towns, serving as Hinterland's employment centres. The SMESTO research suggests analysing the networked condition of smaller towns as providers of industry- and service-related activities, research and innovation (ESPON, 2006).

Innovation

The concept of innovation was developed for global cities, which are augmented by a vast increase in size and perceived as instruments of global capitalism (Sassen, 1991). Amin and Thrift (2002) summarised Sassen's view as '*centres of global command and control, based on the presence of global corporations, the transnational capitalist class, and labour power from around the world*' (Thrift, 2002, 53). They house the major global corporations, seats of financial institutions and banks which can offer management know-how, global connections to clients and opportunity and venture capital funds, creating a perfect condition for an 'innovation ecosystem' (Bassis & Armellini, 2018). Komninos (2002) described an array of services and external support required for such an environment to succeed, from large industrial complexes to innovation support programmes, high-tech education, business services and venture capital funds (Komninos, 2002, 29). Such an environment creates its own internal world, whose important allure for young people is 'the buzz' (Storper & Venables, 2004) and the possibility of (financial) success that is measured through the intellectual property of individual start-ups.

The proximity and density of global cities are beneficial, particularly for the infrastructure and services required by innovation teams. However, these dense sites never operate by themselves. '*What seems to matter instead is the combination of the global corporate reach of some firms and the economy of time that local proximity provides to highly mobile project teams*' (Amin & Thrift, 2002, 66). A global city's predominant function lies in its density of services and institutions required by start-ups whose workers represent an important part of Florida's 'creative class' (Florida, 2002).

Digital innovation

In the last 15–20 years, a new type of spatial restructuring led by innovation in digital services—termed 'digital disruption' (Skog et al., 2018), due to their radical change in the management structure—has emerged. The services of the 'sharing economy' (Grabher & van Tuijl, 2020) have radically transformed the organisation of global production networks. This digital restructuring, like the industrial restructuring at the turn of the millennium, has its own set of spatial and economic consequences. Companies like Uber, easyJet, Netflix, Amazon, Booking.com and Coursera are changing our way of life and the spatial organization of the territory. Just as easyJet and Booking.com abolished the need for touristic agencies and drove touristisation of city cores through the roof, is Uber replacing the taxi dispatch services and Amazon department stores. The development of such services requires a particular type of environment, for which Amin and Thrift (2002) saw the rejuvenation of city cores as 'cities as sites' (Thrift, 2002, 63). With the reintroduction of digital innovation as a development driver, city centres have begun seeing reactivation due to its compact production (Engel et al., 2018; Kozina & Bole, 2018).

Digital innovation is a subset of innovation that has very special characteristics and spatial requirements. In the report Digital Innovation: Seizing Policy Opportunities, OECD (2019) identifies four basic changes in innovation dynamics that are typical for digital innovation. First, managing and being able to turn data into value is a key prerequisite; hence, the data are becoming key input for innovation. Second, digital innovation is permeating all sectors. Although each sector has different needs, one key feature remains the same: the products are services, which usually replace intermediaries (Uber) or force service providers to adapt. Third, the speed of innovation is increasing because of the quick production capabilities and the non-physical nature of innovation. Last, innovation is ever more collaborative, as it is interdisciplinary and requires varied expertise. Therefore, environments such as accelerators, co-working spaces, collaborative platforms (physical and virtual) and spatial ecosystems (with meeting, business and leisure infrastructure) are ever more important (OECD, 2019, 27–35).

Of the four abovementioned concepts, we select the following two for further investigation:

- Access to data in terms of policies and infrastructure
- Quality of infrastructure for collaboration

Slow and peripheral innovation

According to the literature, a major obstacle that hinders the implementation of innovation as a development driver in peripheral regions is their weak linkage to global networks. To address this issue, Shearmur (2015)

posited the concept of slow innovation. They identified three conditions under which innovation can also be implemented in peripheral regions. First, the value of innovation can change slowly or rapidly. Fast innovation is market-dependent, such as the fashion or stock market, whereas slow innovation is technical in nature (fabrication process, new materials and new software); even slower is the basic science produced in academic environments. The fast-decaying value of information can only be acted upon in global centres because of the mentioned infrastructure; however, the slow-decaying value can also be acted upon in non-global locations, such as peripheral regions. Second, some types of innovation are location-specific because knowledge is geographically rooted, replacing '*buzz and geographic proximity by various social and network proximities*' (Shearmur, 2015, 426). Some examples include natural conditions for wine growing or the law and regulation of a country. Third, the initial stage of innovation, where it is identified, does not require the entire supporting infrastructure. However, Shearmur (2015) conceded that all above-described concepts—the buzz, networks, access to global markets, proximity and VC—are required in the second stage when innovation ideas need to be commercialized and released in the market (Shearmur, 2015, 425–433).

Recently, a body of work on peripheral innovation that challenges the conception of innovation as defined for core regions has emerged. In his literature review, Eder (2019) challenged exactly the prerequisite for geographic proximities and showed how peripheral regions find other approaches for networking '*via organizational, cognitive, and technological proximity*' and through conferences (Eder, 2019, 121). They continued to identify a suitable integration of a local company into a 'global pipeline' to substitute for the local buzz (and lack of knowledge spillovers). Furthermore, similar to Shearmur, they identified the importance of geography-specific knowledge that emerges through practice in specific occupations. To this end, we should add the networked condition of an SMESTO as a dispersed hub for geographic proximities of innovation as another viable peripheral structure that can accelerate innovation.

Based on the above, we draw the following important conclusions when considering how the London and Berlin models are transferable to peripheral regions.

- Innovation based on slow-decaying information in technology and basic science will be more successful.
- Localized and geography-specific knowledge can be a suitable source of innovation.
- Locally embedded companies with suitable access to global networks can substitute for geographic proximities.
- The local network of small towns can substitute for geographic proximities.

Triple helix of innovation

The field of innovation study is truly immense. For example, of the various fields that research regional innovation systems, Doloreux and Gomez (2017) identified eight major streams and conceded that the research is biased towards core regions, missing the '*approaches that seek to make sense of growth paths in peripheral and rural regions*' (Doloreux & Gomez, 2017, 385). A more approachable concept is the triple helix of innovation, because it connects well with the definition of the EU territory through the FUA and MEGA concepts, as identified above.

Etzkowitz and Leydesdorf (1995) introduced the term triple helix of innovation as a new relationship among the university, industry and government. They observed new behavioural patterns in the neo-liberal world of the 1990s, where innovation has become a pervasive economic driver of the developed North. One key change is that the classical innovation environment of universities, which used to produce basic knowledge, is becoming more application-oriented, connected to the industry and creating marketable products and spin-off companies. In contrast, the industry, with its global networks and market research background, is integrating its R&D departments into the newly established university outlets to augment its product development and marketing. These new dynamics are being supported by project-oriented government policies specifically targeting the applied research to achieve market readiness through various incentives. Galvao et al. (2019) identified the diversification of the triple helix concept into quadruple helix (adding the public dimension) and quintuple helix (adding the public and environment dimensions). As reported by Galvao et al. (2019), both models rely heavily on the first three dimensions but add time-sensitive dimensions, which in turn make the models more complicated. They commented that a comprehensive review of these models still lacks in terms of the triple helix, which has become an important economic model of reference.

Based on the above, we can set the following three criteria to validate how digital innovation responds to classical innovation requirements:

- Presence of global corporations
- Connection of applied university research to industry
- Government policies supporting start-ups and SMEs

DESCRIPTION AND COMPARISON OF INNOVATION MODELS

In this chapter, we analyse the two models through which digital innovation is implemented and compare them: 'Silicon Allee' (Torstrasse) in Berlin and 'Silicon Roundabout' (Old Street) in London. London and Berlin were the top two innovation hubs in the invested capital

Table 1: Top investment hubs in Europe by VC investment. London and Berlin have been holding the first two places for the last five years, with London clearly ahead but Berlin gaining fast (Dealroom.co, 2020).

Capital invested into start-ups and innvoation (Source dealroom.co, accessed July 2020)						
Naziv	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**	**2019**
London	€ 1.159.895.296	€ 2.152.693.654	€ 2.078.340.109	€ 4.654.469.384	€ 3.725.425.360	€ 4.901.708.793
Berlin	€ 1.337.544.063	€ 1.492.381.767	€ 909.010.657	€ 1.618.044.981	€ 1.613.698.883	€ 3.582.321.675
Paris	€ 603.279.862	€ 955.183.542	€ 1.094.278.015	€ 1.563.720.777	€ 1.900.571.891	€ 2.732.823.460
Stockholm	€ 323.734.111	€ 654.829.020	€ 286.044.088	€ 392.611.808	€ 465.413.721	€ 1.930.293.383
Munich	€ 145.690.905	€ 198.200.906	€ 221.865.903	€ 251.712.270	€ 419.428.539	€ 1.105.409.190
Tel Aviv-Yafo	€ 325.481.804	€ 210.073.624	€ 506.481.811	€ 212.978.170	€ 617.181.802	€ 889.616.339
Amsterdam	€ 400.798.633	€ 186.280.903	€ 171.368.361	€ 375.272.269	€ 374.361.812	€ 576.870.628
Barcelona	€ 113.691.561	€ 253.668.844	€ 299.010.028	€ 482.986.626	€ 789.247.629	€ 555.264.575
Madrid	€ 84.059.539	€ 103.068.056	€ 87.119.411	€ 244.608.361	€ 312.298.632	€ 454.528.951
Cambridge	€ 53.538.735	€ 32.413.293	€ 169.562.599	€ 138.706.179	€ 304.065.813	€ 356.325.734
Zurich	41109088	33621206	28961815	215942419	170744087	340768720
North West England	45753804	50896770	145927880	515004806	75121675	335765662
Copenhagen	73769990	164682869	92543328	88041768	282674994	335664046
Victoria State	120000	28945451	9090909	45229090	179625667	323806415
Helsinki	39807357	78483632	91244088	110758540	253621723	290380297
Utrecht	17100000	73070000	29610000	39136363	12432272	250708018
Dubai	72727272	18181816	339590904	207572724	29909088	216427266
South East England	150327463	89624729	298777038	220866434	310227743	213124226
Manchester	11605818	24534422	84584486	271065243	41461781	196806452
Hamburg	91668180	111465907	201363636	302922727	450539088	182593693
Atlanta	0	178186289	55749998	66309090	106927270	174163931
Vilnius	4805363	29187270	1381818	13454544	55224272	152351222
Scotland	138188756	46041314	267387944	110966646	116136726	151646929
Dublin	141543597	138595353	365748485	196941818	262741815	115574191
Milan	11399816	28118178	36420909	68529090	57909544	115441688
Edinburgh	84985667	27340002	180615144	38759374	61329526	111611272
Warsaw	3400636	17001132	32569089	26068180	17401815	109843303
Oxford	39452017	12530725	171354836	93092380	222938180	103249263
Lausanne	2137120	39763635	35771178	54549088	115645149	100870844
Rotterdam	2974090	1499090	145010000	32581818	9895000	93737736
Wales	24671400	34038952	25715018	29646912	83160000	93345202
Lyon	30440180	18420000	37500000	20880000	107464272	92399998
Marseille	7909090	1700000	8100000	26500000	34800000	89600000
North East England	57200419	116651609	76186566	97250000	249162726	86936670
Cardiff	14880000	6657000	15273818	17928000	14700000	85900567
Seoul	3999999	33111140	27090908	55964244	33090905	85281816
Vienna	19695452	64749998	52388181	77786362	71854545	81450000
Lisbon	2607725	2942107	8045453	7090908	24427271	78727271
Yorkshire and the Humber	29831878	29582085	47527111	51442253	104840362	75981350
Odense	2518181	1333333	7968164	3306060	67114665	72203633
Tallinn	9844999	42845108	25875453	17580363	186529086	69419086
Leiden	8200000	0	300000	15472727	41300000	66000000
Delft	2200000	0	13250000	3450000	16181818	64640908
Oslo	16009090	510011	49152253	49663537	95089811	64187316
Aarhus	272727	3513333	7800000	4830033	48900000	59000000
Northern Ireland	3901817	5099062	16370000	14382385	22215347	56792486
Ghent	2000000	0	7945454	11000000	0	56650000
Espoo	20454544	12253725	19360000	44709090	62985090	54396988
South West England	132542842	126670636	151606407	237426943	289160600	52704107
Eindhoven	31067726	6322727	33563635	60094181	9412000	51012426
Nantes	2181818	25709090	17610000	54270000	14968181	46818181
Budapest	6227725	17457724	10212181	14062362	70792452	46067617
Moscow	39470710	103847270	53081817	544529084	81169621	42909088
Bristol	50189664	20717054	56976000	134534056	253239489	41414292
Kraków	13694543	32405453	40125452	20699089	1742090	36204543
Bordeaux	995454	1042272	3800000	35577272	20900000	32200000
Frankfurt	18181817	13800000	20500000	30300000	31522726	28390908
Valencia	3354545	2035909	1852000	4599540	4160999	27798691
Lille	15000000	13995454	16890909	19100000	19650000	27390909
Cologne	13849999	29340907	33627272	36000000	80903634	24290000
Gothenburg	8850054	4909090	10300027	23185599	48248824	22501949

Sheffield	3979998	1191102	5721563	11008981	5280000	22403635
Antwerp	0	15109089	23280000	19900000	3930000	21381817
Porto Metropolitan Area	1400000	1854544	28403636	2264545	7459000	21369943
Rennes	0	4000000	4900000	21366666	17400000	21270000
Toulouse	1181818	26715000	3600000	29850000	20530000	21000000
Belfast	3118181	4500072	5430000	14298385	4474544	20792486
Reading	18599997	5168556	13454544	43805200	7090909	19596056
Düsseldorf	14545454	22849090	0	18400000	28000000	18500000
Newcastle upon Tyne	10931709	2701320	33963439	3120000	37197272	18023633
Malmö	3768464	48484022	20433844	58377337	43376434	17978744
Riga	4538326	3185454	7324090	5036362	6480907	17654277
East Midlands	35609054	30425089	46302545	127334000	19977360	16373137
West Midlands	15167038	17678921	86232726	35632581	47351817	15962726
Kiev	11999998	2563634	4763591	656363	11429090	15587269
Strasbourg	1000000	2900000	6700000	1000000	2910000	15000000
Brighton	21390000	33107999	9923636	3245466	47528727	14738909
Dundee	4545454	1552800	0	2400000	0	13861817
Birmingham	5863150	5078921	13323636	14112581	21373636	13020000
Sofia	4500800	10705957	10999976	10051256	12654545	12880502
Nice	4300000	448572	5200000	4900000	8500000	11738090
Nottingham	35365454	21183272	31638545	10680000	16977360	10722886
Glasgow	11553090	5960432	76332800	22739272	38450000	10111358
Norwich	272727	7846188	0	199440	12640181	9151319
Bratislava	967181	5609090	3772727	0	12300000	8500000
Liverpool	14015892	3600000	1740000	12216000	13165454	6731989
Rome	5947126	4089999	7147272	5689000	5720000	6678758
Brussels	1600000	25000000	3740400	2000000	2127272	6618180
Prague	6590908	7788090	645453	0	2000000	6207953
Zagreb	4160909	36363	2500000	0	2074544	5836238
Leeds	1451880	20583855	12108000	9000000	72464362	5697090
Athens	200000	295454	1650000	1800000	21131817	5614042
Istanbul	2727271	14492268	13599997	24754542	22115450	5427269
Oulu	10529543	10094544	20370000	33599999	43086725	4620241
Wrocław	0	518181	1039089	5729545	2227272	3840908
Bucharest	0	1454545	750000	34652727	139535909	3670000
Redruth	0	0	0	0	1200000	3491094
The Hague	0	418181818	11250000	500000	3400000	3350000
Dortmund	3000000	10272727	181818	1090909	4000000	2000000
Minsk	18181	0	0	7713635	14999997	1727271
Bournemouth	240000	0	0	456000	0	1700000
Middlesbrough	0	144000	0	0	3600000	1636363
Leicester	0	2423636	14640000	60000000	0	1553888
Stuttgart	0	1000000	1487272	0	6500000	1000000
Poznań	350000	540909	11000000	8409088	670000	763908
Southampton	1636363	0	240000	8308000	6817200	720000
Newcastle-under-Lyme	0	0	0	0	0	563636
Braga	0	390000	400000	300000	227272	500000
Belgrade	368181	330000	1699999	1437801	2732000	499999
Cork	1550000	1090909	2700000	2200000	7100000	263636
Gdynia	0	300000	464000	240909	1090909	227272
Groningen	0	11272727	10580000	5015000	500000	200000
Luxembourg City	2272727	9090909	19581818	31900000	14545454	0
Geneva	1000000	0	48443181	0	0	0
Sarajevo	0	0	0	0	0	0
Brno	100000	100000	1200000	0	0	0
Nijmegen	0	9580454	0	0	50400000	0
Exeter	12816000	7392000	8760000	410052	10200000	0
Hull	0	607128	0	420000	240000	0
Ipswich	400800	0	0	1200000	0	0
Plymouth	2727272	6363636	1818181	0	0	0
Sunderland	1256590	10909090	24772727	300000	8640000	0
Truro	0	0	538428	0	0	0
Worcester	600000	0	0	0	19200000	0
Malvern	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gdańsk	360000	1522909	130000	700000	666157	0
Bialystok	0	0	0	0	0	0

in 2019 (Tab. 1), and represent the first two choices of start-up founders in terms of location (Atomico, 2019, 206). However, their digital innovation environments are entirely different.

Silicon Allee

Unlike the rest of Germany, Berlin's core economy has always been that of services rather than industry. Historically, the creative sector and urban culture have always been strong economic and selling points. The environment and allure of the city form a significant basis for an innovation environment. Even though Munich is a more mature and established tech-hub in Germany (Deloitte, 2018), Berlin is more dynamic with the highest growth (13%) (Börsch, 2019) and highest investment in start-ups (Atomico, 2019). Moreover, the local innovation environment benefits hugely from Berlin's established academic environment, as it boasts the highest number of students in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) in Germany (Börsch, 2019; Deloitte, 2018). In addition to world-class universities, Berlin's innovation environment also benefits from the suitable institutional support received in the form of grants by the Investitionsbank Berlin, which '*actively contributes towards developing Berlin as a hub for business and industry*' (IBB, n.d.). Finally, its innovation ecology is heavily supported by German corporations through the creation of their own VC funds and accelerators, such as DB StartupXpress (Deutche Bahn; dbmindbox.com); the famous Beyond1435 (beyond1435.com), which is a collaboration of LBA Group, Bombardier Transportation, Deutsche Bahn AG, Siemens AG, Swiss Federal Railways and TUI Group (Hatzfeld, 2017), or the Bayer CoLaborator with state-of-the-art research facilities and infrastructure (colaborator.bayer.com). EDCi (2016) cited startuphubs.eu, which reported 171,000 start-ups employing 667,000 people in 2016.

The example of Berlin represents a unicum on the world stage in terms of its buzz, and therefore, one of the most desirable locations for the young creative class. Its colourful history has always attracted entrepreneurial people, artists and creatives. Its post-World War II crisis and the subsequent transformation of East Berlin created unique conditions economically and spatially. Abandoned housing, industrial estates and dysfunctional economy were the preconditions for bottom-up interventions that created a lively non-institutional scene of urban squats, avant-garde artists and unfettered culture. Such an urban environment created a unique urban buzz that is difficult to recreate institutionally and is perfect for the creative class. Areas such as Kreuzberg and Neuköln, with numerous hipster cafes and night clubs; Mitte, with its chick boutiques, and the rugged Friedrichshain highlight the intriguing urban culture of Berlin. From cult night clubs, such as the Berghain across the cultural melting pots of Tacheles and Kopi art squats, to more institutionalised and development-oriented Holzmarkt, Berlin represents an immense resource for young creatives and a fertile ground for innovation (Phillips, 2016; Moeller, 2016).

The creative class started to see opportunities in these areas in the 1990s. The start of digital innovation in Berlin can be pinned to 1999 when the Samwer brothers sold their internet start-up Alando, modelled after eBay, to eBay for 34 million USD (Moeller, 2016; Olarinoye, 2020). One of the main start-up clusters is located around Torstrasse at the edge of Prenzlauer Berg. In popular culture, this area has been nicknamed Silicon Allee with innovation connotations. Support and co-working hubs, such as Silicon Allee Campus and Google-backed Factory, are located here, both of which provide an ecosystem of services and infrastructure for start-ups (EDCi, 2016). In popular culture, the term Silicon Allee is frequently used (Freedman, 2020; Hanford, 2019; Adams, 2016); however, Phillips (2016) called it a misnomer as it is difficult to pin down the production of digital innovation in one part of Berlin. Moeller (2016) conceptualised four digital innovation clusters based on the classical requirements for digital innovation: urban and cultural amenities for young creative class and rent prices and available housing stock for re-appropriation. Their study results revealed two main clusters: the above-mentioned area of Silicon Allee focusing around Torrstrasse and the fashionable Kreuz-Köln, west of Görlitzer Park. Furthermore, they identified two additional clusters: around Boxhagener Platz and the Kürfürsterdamm area in West Berlin (Moeller, 2016, 19, Figure 4).

A combination of Berlin's fertile environment of amenities and nightlife with the institutional backing of global German companies and STEM students from universities is a potent mix of conditions for digital innovation to prosper.

Silicon Roundabout

A complete opposite in terms of structure, funding and institutional support to Berlin's innovation environment is London. If Berlin represents an institutionally well-backed approach, London's laissez-faire tradition led to an organically grown innovation environment. A major benefit to the start-up economy is the UK's lowest administrative barriers to entrepreneurship globally (OECD, 2013, 37, Figure 11). Throughout the metrics in the Atomico (2019) report, London ranks first amongst the European innovation hubs. The huge pull of London is supported by its neo-liberal diversified economy based on Thatcher's deregulation of the banking sector, which provides a strong footing to fin-tech start-ups (digital solutions for the financial sector). EDCi (2016) cited Startup Hubs Europe, which reports 275,000 companies employing approximately 1.5 million people.

One of the most recognized clusters with a complete ecosystem for start-ups is the Old Street area, popularly called the Silicon Roundabout, and after its success, rebranded into Tech City (Nathan et al., 2019). Old Streets' morphogenesis is based on economic decline and spatial

degradation. It is layered upon the deindustrialization process of the 1980s, when vacant halls created a fertile ground for lively business services, loft renovations and a beginning of the creative, new media and art scene, which came to full fruition in the 1990s (Nathan & Vandore, 2014). This gave the area its feel and 'buzz'—a perfect breeding ground for networking, knowledge spillovers and young people interested in experiencing urban life and creating a 'bounded milieu' of the innovation ecosystem (Nathan & Vandore, 2014, 2292). A suitable microcosm under this effect is the Shoreditch area with numerous cafes, bars, fixie bike shops, barber shops and an organic market—all fuelled by the local creative economy of information and communication technology (ICT) start-ups and seed funds investing heavily in innovation.

Even though London is home to the world's top universities, such as Imperial College and UCL, there is an extremely high cost of ICT talent, which indicates a weak connection between the university environment and STEM jobs in London (Nathan & Vandore, 2014; EDCi, 2016). Additionally, 'many of the "traditional" key actors in high-tech clusters, such as major employers, activist universities, or "Triple Helix" activity are absent' (Nathan & Vandore, 2014, 2295). The authors also reported that compared to the US, UK VCs are considerably more cautious and that local entrepreneurs lack seniority and experience. Despite these detriments, London is still the foremost digital innovation hotspot in Europe. Its status as a global metropolis compensates through the sheer force of global connection volume that translates into opportunity.

Comparison of the two models

Both London and Berlin represent the two most important hubs for digital innovation in Europe. They have built upon a vibrant creative community and urban culture developed in both cities. Lively and rich art and night scene on one hand and good connections to capital and corporations on the other form a fertile ground for the creative class, which searches for big city experience and a productive environment for progressive start-ups. However, the similarities end there.

The London model is based solely on the neo-liberal tradition and the laissez-faire market, which can only exist in global city centres of command and control. It is an example of regional geography where trans-national corporations, primarily in banking (connected to other global hubs), sustain opportunities and the innovation environment itself. Even though Silicon Roundabout ecology is not connected to London's university sector, it is the most successful innovation cluster in Europe.

In terms of the triple helix concept, the question is how the London example measures up against the three identified criteria. Clearly, the industry supports well and gives opportunities to spin-offs and start-ups; however, as indicated by Nathan and Vandore (2014), these do not connect well with the university environment. In terms of policy support, liberal policies regarding taxation and non-bureaucratic procedures for company creation contribute substantially to the innovation environment as such. However, subsequent attempts at managing and supporting digital innovation by the government of David Cameron have been criticised (Nathan, 2011). This suggests that the policy segment is important in countries where such policies are more constrictive. Moreover, not all dimensions of the triple helix need to be equally represented for digital innovation to be viable.

In terms of digital innovation requirements, London meets all criteria. It has a great collaboration environment with co-working spaces, accelerator environments and whole innovation ecosystems, such as the Shoreditch area. Data access is one of the most relaxed in Europe, and with its succession from the EU, this can be further improved (however to the detriment of final users).

In contrast, Berlin is an example where the local institutions and German corporations provide strong support, primarily due to the long tradition of industries and their loyalty. However, their regional affiliation needs to be envisioned in global terms, which means that Berlin's innovation ecology cannot exist without the global connection of its corporations. It is, as Micelli and Sachetti (2014) illustrated through an industrial model, a bounded local geography where small producers can only exist if there is a globally connected company as an '*interface between the local territory and global market*' (Micelli & Sachetti, 2014, 85). Through the same mechanism, Bayern or Siemens in Berlin are obliged to support the local innovation environment if they want to continue producing value.

In terms of the triple helix conditions, Berlin's digital innovation has a different disposition. First, there is a wealthy presence of global corporations; second, these corporations are well connected to the universities, creating incubators and appropriate STEM student supply. Third, although companies are subjected to more stringent polices and administration requirements, suitable policy incentives are provided by Berlin banks (IBB, n.d.) and the municipality through active development policies, such as the 'be Berlin' campaign (Phillips, 2016).

In terms of digital innovation prerequisites, further improvement is required. There is a general concern that the EU General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) will impede digital innovation (Martin et al., 2019). On the other hand, Berlin contains numerous co-working and accelerator spaces that support collaborative work; furthermore, its social and cultural infrastructure for young creatives is unrivalled.

DISCUSSION: DIGITAL INNOVATION IN PERIPHERY

After reviewing the case studies through the identified criteria, we analyse whether the models can be transferred to peripheral regions. For this purpose, we will confront the conclusions obtained from the tipple helix review with slow innovation requirements. Wherever we

identify problems, other qualities of peripheral innovation will be discussed. Discussion of the two models has already shown that different pathways to achieving digital innovation in cities are possible.

Triple helix and peripheral innovation

For the triple helix requirement, no particular constellation of drivers and local conditions is preferred; however, all three (global industries, applied research in universities and supportive policies) need to be present. In London, the university segment is lacking, but the open market policies are much more favourable to start-ups and SMEs. The latter is heavily taxed in Berlin, but industrial support in the form of infrastructure and government loans, as well as an appropriate STEM student market, will fill this gap. In both cases, global networks and fertile innovation ecosystems with suitable amenities and infrastructure are well developed. In the following paragraphs, we discuss each criterion in more detail.

Global industries' criteria seem the most problematic for peripheral regions to achieve adequately. Background research on the development and structure of the EU (ESPON, 2005) has shown a significant lack of peripheral regions in the global reach of their companies. City cores in such regions neither readily house a lively banking sector like London nor feature a pool of native industrial giants like Berlin. However, slow innovation suggests implementing the first stage of innovation (idea creation), which is less dependent on the global infrastructure. In addition, new research focusing specifically on innovation in peripheral regions (Eder & Trippl, 2019) criticises the classical innovation concepts, as they were developed for core regions. They suggest a set of responses available to peripheral regions, such as establishing branch offices in global centres or branding techniques for '*soft locational factors'* emphasizing the natural and other qualities of the environment '*far from urban congestion*' (Eder & Trippl, 2019, 1515). In addition, the SMESTO literature puts the network of small towns on par with larger towns in terms of job density per inhabitant (Bole et al., 2016), where this network can be considered a 'bounded milieu' for innovation. Finally, taking the example of Berlin's locally imbedded companies in connection to Micelli and Sacchetti's (2014) concept of a company as an interface between local producers and the global market, the possibilities for digital innovation in peripheral regions can be significantly expanded. We can adduce a few examples from the local environment, such as the pharmaceutical company Lek in Ljubljana, the avionics company Pipistrel in Ajdovščina or the diversified technology company Kolektor in Idrija. All the above-mentioned companies can act as interfaces to the global market for the local network of slow innovation that is bound within the SMESTO network. In addition to these regional solutions, level-4 MEGAs exhibit strong cultural tourism, and the environment of their city cores offers new research potential into tourism and innovation infrastructure synergies.

In terms of the second criterion of connecting industry to marketable university research, the situation is rather positive. Barra et al. (2019) reported that the second-tier universities, rather than the first tier, produce more marketable knowledge spillovers useful to the industry. This, coupled with the slow innovation concept to focus on technology and basic knowledge of research, yields a strong foundation for applied research in such regions in the segment of digital innovation. However, Bonaccorsi (2017) cautioned that only supporting institutional innovation in universities is problematic, as it yields limited success. Marques et al. (2019) indicated that in less-developed regions, universities can play a catalytic role in development of the region, but only with well-established innovation departments. However, the case studies related to the triple helix requirement indicate that London compensates in this segment with its global pull. The unique regional knowledge embedded locally and supported by slow innovation can be one such compensation in peripheral regions. Last, all MEAG-3 and MEGA-4 cities have well-established universities and research institutes, such as the local environment example of Chemical Institute in Ljubljana and the Institut Jozef Stefan focusing on applied physics and mathematics.

In terms of the triple helix criterion—the support of government policies—Kozina & Bole (2018) indicated that strategic policies can help steer the spatial patterns of innovation in a favourable direction. This is supported in the two case studies where policy played a vital role. In London's example, the liberal policies with low barriers to entrepreneurship (e.g. low VAT taxes and the simplicity of creating a company) are beneficial. However, in Germany, due to the more stringent economic policies, the environment compensates with suitable incentives for SMEs and start-ups, as well as a well-established support environment provided by the local industry. These examples suggest that in peripheral regions, policymakers need to recognise the importance of local producers and create tailored policies to that effect. Adapting local level policies is easier than national level. In contrast, the problem of constricting policies regarding data, such as the EU's newly adopted GDPR, can be problematic for digital innovation. Martin et al. (2019) reported that the GDPR is a two-edged sword for data-dependant start-ups. On one hand, it supports innovation in technologies for GDPR compliance or exploitation and suggests a higher possibility for the end-user to buy European digital products, due to security assurance. On the other hand, for the start-ups themselves, there might be a significant product abandonment, especially in the segment where data are used without clear benefit to the end-user. Even if the effect is mixed, the GDPR places additional administrative barriers on the 'lean start-up', on which the majority of digital innovation is based. Peripheral regions might have an upper hand due to favourable EU cohesion policies, which can enable local actors to '*exploit different innovation benefits encountered in peripheral regions*' (Eder & Trippl, 2019, 1526).

CONCLUSION

As part of global restructuring at the turn of the millennium, when a significant part of the P&A segment moved to developing countries, the peripheral regions in the EU sought strategies that could better support their transformation. To consider the diversification of economic dependencies, we reviewed the possibility of digital innovation as an additional driver for these regions.

This paper presents two global examples of London and Berlin and their digital innovation ecosystems as case studies. As a direct translation of these models to peripheral regions is not possible, it is achieved through the triple helix of innovation concept, which is interpreted through the slow innovation principles.

In classical literature of regional innovation systems, innovation as such follows the Marshallian concept of industrial agglomerations; however, unlike traditional industries in the secondary sector, which require large areas to operate, digital innovation is compact, and thus, a great mechanism for densification and diversification. Global cities yield suitable evidence for micro-clustering in the digital sector, as the need for communication, connection and collaboration is very important (Nathan & Vandore, 2014). In addition, the classical literature proposes innovation requirements, such as connection to global markets, buzz, knowledge spillovers, managerial know-how and VC, all of which are scarce in peripheral regions. Digital innovation further requires suitable access to data related to policies and infrastructure, as well as suitable infrastructure for collaboration.

The digital innovation examples of London and Berlin are unique; thus, they cannot be directly replicated in peripheral regions. There are two main problems: lack of global industry with access to global markets and lack of the 'buzz' generated in these unique locations, which contributes to the much-needed knowledge spillovers that foster innovation. However, a review of the two models provides concrete conclusions for peripheral regions.

The two examples show that there are various pathways to digital innovation; if one segment is strong, the other can be compensated. Berlin achieves this through suitable industrial presence of locally embedded native corporations, collaborative infrastructure and strong connection to the university environment, where the policy aspect is quite constricted. In contrast, London has a weak connection to the university environment, which is compensated through liberal economic policies.

The classical RIS literature lists the presence of global corporations as the most difficult triple helix requirement for peripheral regions. Here, geographic proximity favours the key innovation concepts, such as knowledge spillovers, urban buzz, VC and access to global markets. Both studied examples are well embedded in the world economy with numerous global corporations. However, innovation in peripheral regions works differently, and geographic proximities and global access can be achieved in different ways, such as branch offices, through a networked concept of SMESTO, or through an imbedded local company with global connections. In contrast, peripheral innovation substitutes some concepts. For example, the concept of urban buzz is replaced by the quality of a good natural environment, quietness and nature, which carry more value in contemporary times. Otherwise, research into touristic infrastructure to carry some functions of central cities can be investigated.

In terms of the connection of the applied university research to industry, the conditions are rather beneficial for peripheral regions, as their centres house second-tier universities, which more readily create marketable innovation than the first-tier ones. The niche market for these regions is in digital innovation, which takes local knowledge as the basis and focuses on technical or basic knowledge rather than knowledge that is fashionable and whose value can quickly decline.

In terms of government policies supporting start-ups and SMEs, EU-based innovation firms will always be at a disadvantage. However, the arguments of slow innovation suggest that peripheral regions have a specific advantage in nimble and quickly tailored local policies. If a regional or local administration recognises the significance of a local company, they can tailor the policies to suit their needs. In terms of a specific digital innovation policy, a major hurdle is the GDPR.

In conclusion, we can speculate on the initial question. Do peripheral regions represent viable hubs for digital innovation ecosystems despite their less favourable global position?

The proposed substitution of core innovation concepts with slow innovation concepts makes digital innovation viable in peripheral regions. The SMESTO concept can even be considered a networked condition for the innovation ecosystem. There is no reason why digital innovation cannot represent a parallel development driver to approaches such as cultural tourism and industrial culture. However, it will never represent a core activity of peripheral regions; it is difficult to imagine concepts such as quiet and beautiful nature replacing the allure of a vibrant city, or an annual institutionalised networking conference replacing knowledge spillovers in global centres overflowing with young talent. The density of connections to the global markets is a difficult resource to substitute in the innovation environment. However, digital innovation can and should augment peripheral regions to diversify their economic base, especially under the persistent global crisis.

DIGITALNA INOVACIJA: KAJ SE LAHKO OBROBJE NAUČI OD GLOBALNIH CENTROV?

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POVZETEK

Globalno industrijsko prestrukturiranje je eden glavnih razlogov za stanje in obliko sodobnih evropskih mest. Ena največjih težav obrobnih regij Evrope je izguba industrijskega segmenta proizvodnje in izdelave (angl. process and assembly). Dva pristopa, turizem in visokotehnološke inovacije sta v ospredju prenove v postindustrijski Evropi. Ker je turizem dobro uveljavljeno gonilo razvoja, se sprašujemo ali je digitalna inovacija, kot podskupina visokotehnoloških inovacij, lahko vzporedno gonilo za doseganje odpornejšega in bolj uravnovešenega razvoja obrobnih regij. Članek opisuje dva modela digitalne inovacije londonskega in berlinskega, z namenom razumevanja njune primernosti za razvoj obrobnih regij. Ker so modeli globalnih mest stežka uporabni za obrobja, članek ugotavlja njuno uporabnost skozi koncept trojne vijačnice inovacij (angl. triple helix of innovation), ki govori o povezavi akademskega raziskovanja, produkcijske zmogljivosti in globalne vpetosti industrije ter podpornih politik. Dodatno članek naslavlja vprašanje inovacije v luči koncepta t.i. počasne inovacije (angl. slow innovation), ki je primernejši za obrobne regije. Prvi sklep članka ugotavlja, da je pogoje za digitalno inovacijo moč doseči z različnimi razmerji elementov trojne vijačnice. Berlinski digitalni grozd je dobro podprt z velikim številom študentov na področju informatike ter odličnim podpornim okoljem nemških korporacij, a ima visoke davke in administrativno zahtevno okolje za nova podjetja. Na drugi strani ima londonski digitalni grozd šibko vez z akademijo, ki jo kompenzira z liberalno tržnimi politikami Velike Britanije in močno globalno vpetostjo Londona. Drugi sklep članka pa ugotavlja, da čeravno digitalna inovacija ni primarno gonilo razvoja obrobnih regij, je lahko pomembno gonilo, v kolikor se jo razume skozi koncept počasne inovacije. Tako je problem šibke globalne vpetosti obrobnih regij lahko naslovljen z dinamiko mreže malih in srednjih mest ali s pomembnim lokalnim podjetjem, ki ima dobro globalno povezanost. Aplikativno akademsko raziskovanje je v obrobnih regijah bolje zastopano kot v centralnih, saj so prav univerze na obrobju dosti bolj aktivne na področju patentov. Obenem je za počasno inovacijo pomembno osredotočanje na lokalno specifično inovacijo na področju tehničnih ali bazičnih znanj in ne na znanje katerega vrednost lahko hitro upade. Kar se tiče politik imajo lahko obrobne regije posebno prednost v gibčnih in hitro prilagodljivih lokalnih politikah. Če regionalna ali lokalna uprava prepozna pomen lokalnega podjetja, lahko politike prilagodi dejanskim potrebam. Predlagana zamenjava temeljnih inovacijskih konceptov s počasnimi inovacijskimi koncepti omogoča razumevanje digitalne inovacije v obrobnih regijah. Digitalna inovacija bi morala zavzeti večjo vlogo v razvoju obrobnih regij, s čimer bi regija zagotovila večjo razpršenost gospodarstva, zlasti v času, ko so krize in ekonomska nihanja postali stalnica.

Ključne besede: digitalna inovacija, obrobne regije, obnova, berlinski digitalni grozd, londonski digitalni grozd

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PLACE IDENTITY AS THE KEY DETERMINING FACTOR OF THE QUALITY OF PUBLIC SPACES

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ABSTRACT

The article examines the relationships between place identity, the cultural value of public spaces and the quality of open spaces in city centres. Particular attention has been paid to the features that allow the recognition of public spaces as areas of cultural value. The changeability of public spaces over time, resulting from both the transformation of city structure and civilisation changes, was taken into account. A selected fragment of the public space in the centre of Warsaw – Grzybowski Square – was examined, showing the adaptation possibilities of public spaces with a distinct identity.

Keywords: public space, place identity, city centre, square, Warsaw

L'IDENTITÀ DEL LUOGO COME DETERMINANTE DELLA QUALITÀ DEGLI SPAZI PUBBLICI

SINTESI

Nell'articolo vengono presentati i risultati degli studi riguardanti le relazioni tra l'identità del luogo, i valori culturali degli spazi pubblici e la qualità degli spazi aperti nei centri cittadini. Si guarda con particolare attenzione a quelle caratteristiche degli spazi pubblici che consentono di conferire loro valori culturali. Viene considerata la variabilità degli spazi pubblici nel tempo, risultante sia dalle trasformazioni della struttura urbana che dai mutamenti della realtà sociale. L'area pubblica esaminata nel dettaglio corrisponde a Piazza Grzybowski, nel centro di Varsavia. Tale luogo mostra le capacita di adattamento degli spazi pubblici caratterizzati da una forte identità.

Parole chiave: spazio pubblico, identità del luogo, centro cittadino, piazza, Varsavia

INTRODUCTION

Open urban spaces are the most significant elements of the spatial structure of cities – they include, among others, private territories, neighbouring spaces, and public areas. The latter are of special importance for cities – they are their "showpiece" and brand and create networks that allow for contact and communication. Thus, both the quality of living in the city and the aesthetics of the city depend on the quality of public spaces. Apart from urban dominants and architectural features, they are the main recognisable elements of the urban structure, and, this applies in particular to those referred to as civic spaces (Carmona, 2010). Since the dawn of history, squares and streets in almost every city create a space of interpersonal contacts that concentrates social, political and cultural life and where everyday existence plays a significant role – they are the stage and audience of urban life.

In the second half of the 20th century, we have acquired vast knowledge about relationships between the shape of the city and human behaviour. Designers pay much attention to open urban spaces, and inhabitants almost started demanding such kind of urban planning that would address the human being and his needs relating to urban space which was also noted by researchers (e.g., Carmona et al., 2006; Gehl, 1987, 2010; Sepe, 2013; Whyte, 1980; Madanipour, 2019). Due to the changing possibilities and interests of city inhabitants, urban public spaces also change. Relationships between these changes in the context of latest civilizational transformations have been analysed and published for over 30 years (e.g., Bell, 1973; Hillier & Hanson, 1984; Capanema-Alvares & Barbosa, 2018; Solarek, 2019). Some researchers notice tendencies to transfer interpersonal relations with diverse characteristics directly into cyberspace. The concentration of young people's life around the virtual world leads to the redefinition of fundamental relations and changes the form and quality of interpersonal contacts. Others, like Lewicka, present research results substantiating Heidegger's idea that relations between the human being and the place are unconditional and that the relation between the human being and the place is not only a response to its physical characteristics – the place is a social product created as a result of neighbourly bonds. Physical features of the place act as an inhibitor or facilitator of these bonds. Lewicka argues that it is a sufficiently strong foundation for the justification of these architectural and urban projects that take the social character of the space into consideration, such as projects and theories of Jan Gehl. She also quotes numerous examples that testify to the increasingly huge and almost obsessive interest in the subject area of the place and, consequently, urban public spaces (Lewicka, 2012).

Alexander Wallis, a sociologist, proposed the adoption of an evaluative concept for public spaces; the spaces that focus the course of cultural processes of the municipal society – i.e., those that play a cultural role – are called 'cultural areas'[1] in his work (Wallis, 1979). Public spaces of cultural value allow people to satisfy various social needs and create a sense of social integration and opportunities to develop thanks to the concentration of a group of material, aesthetic and symbolic values and integration existing between them and the specific community staying in them. According to Wallis, public spaces can belong to open spaces of cultural value, provided that we can recognise and name them and if a specific social group can satisfy spontaneously its various needs within such an area and, consequently, achieve a sense of social integration and opportunities to develop.

In such areas, which can be treated as a cultural environment, we can observe a feedback of crucial importance in culture. On the one hand, these areas – products of certain groups and communities – are an expression of taste, preferences, needs, lifestyle and abilities of users; on the other hand, they shape them continuously and reinforce a certain set of values within them. In addition, these areas are subject to changes related to political and economic factors, which are also indirectly a result of cultural changes of societies. Thus, the shape and function of public spaces are the determinants of time in which the given group lives. No social space becomes a cultural area automatically – they can lose some functions and are able to assume new functions that emerge during social development. They are not museum exhibits or synonyms of areas of highest artistic value – they are spaces with which cultural needs of specific social groups or communities are connected.

Therefore, a cultural area fulfils the right role towards its group (community) only when the latter can use it freely, intensively, and systematically and when it responds to the cultural needs of specific social groups or communities. One

1 From the anthropological point of view, each area shaped by a man is an expression of his culture. In the narrower, formal classification sense, different parts of the city can be given different cultural value, depending on the presence of cultural institutions and their significance. Here it is proposed to adopt a value concept above formal classification.

of the most important aspects of this issue is to develop and shape public spaces adequately to social needs.

According to Wallis, the most important conditions for public spaces in the city centre to belong to open spaces with cultural values are as follows:

1. the occurrence of material, aesthetic, and symbolic values
2. recognition and naming capability
3. the ability to satisfy certain social groups.

Alexander Wallis's conditions for the existence of public spaces with cultural values are also those that affect the creation of places with a distinct identity, which can be deduced from the extensive literature on this issue. Identity is an important feature of a place, distinguished in phenomenological analysis and readily described in the literature related to architecture and urban planning (Sepe, 2013; Lewicka, 2012; Beatley, 2004; Rossi, 1984; Norberg-Schulz, 1980; Tuan, 1977). It is sometimes identified with 'separateness', 'genius loci' or 'sense of place'. The objective, and not just subjective, reality of 'genius loci' is an important theoretical concept in the works of place phenomenologists who enquire about the features of places that favour its unique character (Alexander, 2002; Norberg-Schultz, 1980). Wallis's approach helps in this assessment, providing a basis for the concretisation of research into specific urban spaces.

Finally, the research question may be posed: to what extent is the place identity the criterion of the public space quality, i.e. is the occurrence of features characteristic for cultural areas an important criterion for assessing public spaces? For many decades factors affecting the quality of public space have been discussed in a professional environments (Lynch, 1981; Carmona & Sieh, 2004), there are also publications presenting various methodologies for assessing this quality, but the above question has not been answered in them.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

The research consists of two parts: 1. A comparison of the criteria for cultural public spaces and the criteria for assessing the quality of public spaces. 2. An assessment of the selected area in terms of the criteria for cultural public spaces.

The first part of the research

In the first part of the research, an attempt was made to answer the question – what are the relations between the criteria for belonging to cultural areas and the criteria for assessing the quality of public spaces? The relationships between the notion of cultural area and the notion of place identity were also analysed. This was carried out by means of literature studies and compilations of the approaches to: 1. features of public spaces with cultural values, 2. factors, which shape the identity of the place, and 3. criteria for assessing the quality of public spaces.

The output for the research was the theory of the Polish sociologist Alexander Wallis, who formulated specific conditions for the existence of public spaces with cultural values in city centres. Based on the author's own implementation experience related to urban design, specific features of public spaces were selected, which could be objectively assessed as a result of studies of functional, spatial and social changes taking place in a given period in a given area. These features reflect in detail three conditions for the existence of public spaces with cultural values, identified by Wallis (1-3) as:

1. material, aesthetic and symbolic values
   - the occurrence of specific forms of development
   - the presence of significant visual landmarks
   - occurrence of special features of the urban layout and composition
   - specificity of the location in the city structure and connections with the environment

2. recognition and naming capability
   - fixed name
   - historical connotations

3. the ability to satisfy certain social groups
   - buildings' functions
   - open spaces' function

Then, based on the results of the analysis carried out by Marichela Sepe (Sepe, 2013), the features most often attributed to the identity of the place were selected[2] and compared with the Wallis criteria.

In the next step, public space quality evaluation criteria were taken from the researches of Anna Wojnarowska (2016). In this method criteria were formed in the checklist, grouped into six areas:

- C: composition/legibility/image/character/continuity and enclosure;
- V: vitality/flexibility/adaptability/use and activities/diversity;
- N: comfort/fulfillment of needs/convenience;
- A: accessibility/permeability/linkages/ease of movement;

2 Marichela Sepe discusses various approaches to understanding the concept of place identity, as well as the most important features that distinguish it (Sepe, 2013).

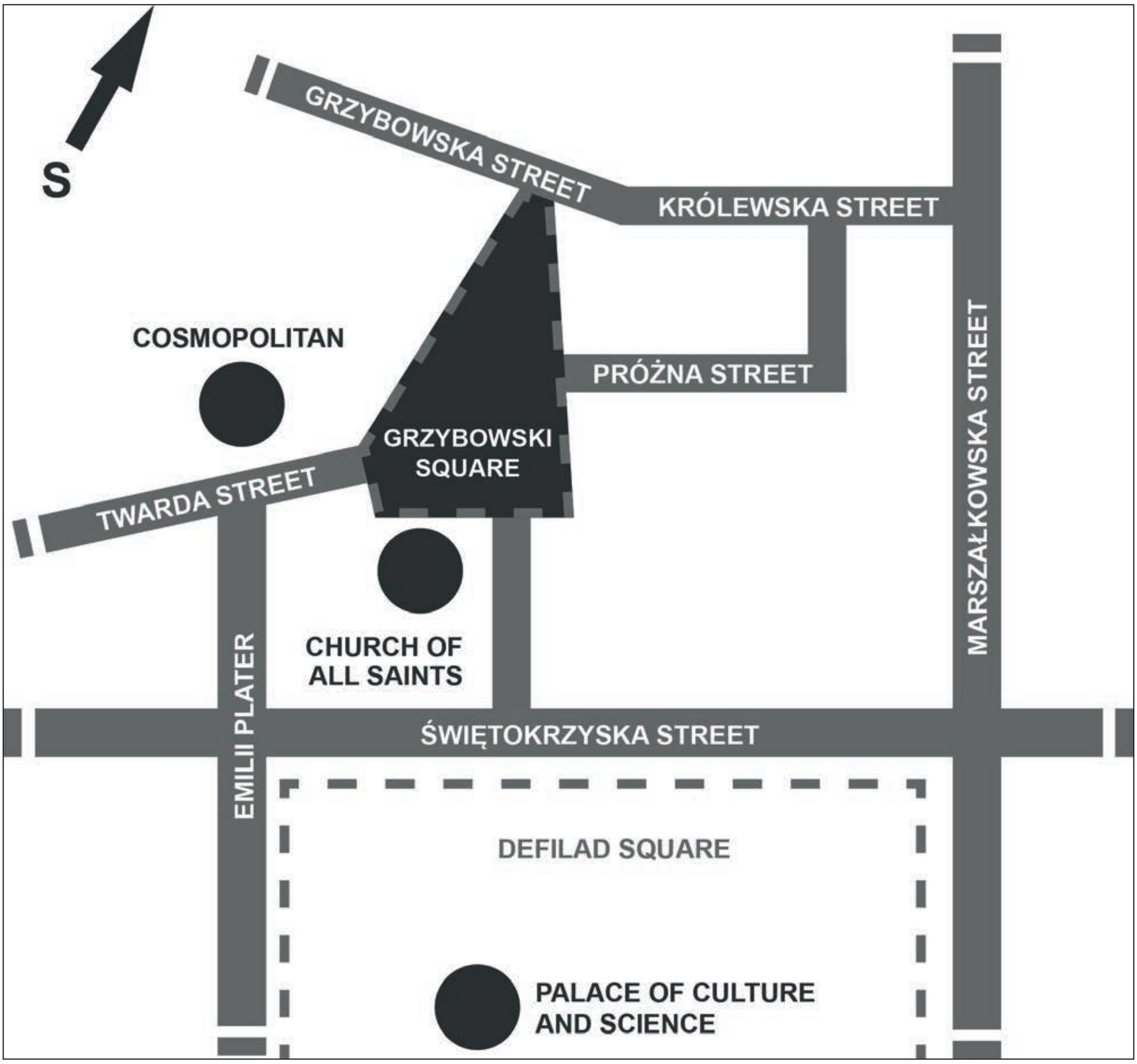


Figure 1: The most important buildings and streets in the surroundings of Grzybowski Square (Source: K. Solarek).

- S: safety/control;
- SD: consistency with the idea of sustainable development.

The relationships between individual concepts and assessment principles have been summarised, which allowed for the transition to the second phase of the study.

The second part of the research

The scope of occurrence of the above-mentioned features was examined in the selected area, using both qualitative and quantitative methods.

The research covered the square named Grzybowski Square (Plac Grzybowski), situated in the very centre of Warsaw (Fig. 1). Even though it is not one of the most important public spaces of the city today, it used to be an important part of the group of seven interrelated squares focused around the 17th-century Baroque layout of the Saxon Axis in the pre-war period. These squares formed a constellation that marked the centre of pre-war Warsaw. Squares fulfilled trade and administrative functions and were centres of cultural life. The post-war housing development destroyed this system, but Grzybowski Square is still easily accessible from the side of main arterial roads in the city centre – Świętokrzyska and Marszałkowska Streets.

The scope of the detailed research included analyses of historical materials – published maps and photographs, as well as studies of the literature of the subject and detailed on-site observation. All the spatial and social transformations (forms and functions of the buildings surrounding the studied square and the square itself, as well as the ways of their usage) were analysed and juxtaposed with regard to four periods characterised by clear differences in the social, political and economic situation: (1) in the 18th–19th century, (2) in the interwar period (1918–1939), (3) in the second half of the 20th century and (4) the present state – in 2019. Changes of the spatial structure in the area of the square were also shown on simplified drawings for the same time intervals and on the illustrations.

In the qualitative part of the research the authors discuss the reasons for the functional and spatial transformation of the square and adopts a critical attitude to these changes. In the part of the quantitative research, the features of the square are listed. Specific features of public spaces were selected, which could be objectively assessed as a result of studies of functional, spatial and social changes taking place in a given period in a given area. These features reflect in detail three conditions for the existence of public spaces with cultural values that were identified by Wallis.

The results of the research are referred to the analysis of features of culturally valuable public spaces i.e. places with a distinct identity.

A comparison of the criteria for cultural public spaces and the criteria for assessing the quality of public spaces

Three main conditions for the existence of public spaces with cultural values, identified by Wallis (1. material, aesthetic and symbolic values, 2. recognition and naming capability, 3. the ability to satisfy certain social groups), translated into specific features of public spaces, are close in meaning to those characterising the concept of place identity. Among the elements of the concept of place identity extracted by the researchers, there are, for example: "*physical features or appearance, observable activities and functions, and meanings or symbols*" (Relph, 1976, in: Sepe, 2013, 18), "*territorial and landscape typology and the existence of a milieu, as the result of a long process of co-evolution between settlement and environment*" (Magnaghi, 2005, in: Sepe, 2013, 21), "*specificity and intrinsic values (history, culture, nature) as a basis form effective, sustainable local innovation process*" (Carta, 1999, in: Sepe, 2013, 21), "[...] *It must include considerations of the social, economic and cultural processes needed to successfully manage the evolution of the cities and neighbourhoods we design, allowing them to change and adapt to future condition, while maintaining their essence*" (Southworth & Ruggeri, in: Sepe, 2013, 22).

From the review it can be concluded that, the concept of place identity includes several dimensions; however, in the case of public spaces in city centres, they are best characterised by factors diagnosed by Wallis. It can therefore be concluded that in such a situation public spaces with cultural values are places with a distinct identity. Wallis's conditions for the existence of public spaces with cultural values are the same as the elements which affect the creation of places with a distinct identity. This can help in locating and assessing public space in city centres.

The problem of assessing public spaces is complex, but for the purposes of this study, the checklist developed by the aforementioned Wojnarowska (2016) was adopted. The features of public spaces contained in areas C, V, N almost completely coincide with the previously mentioned features of public spaces with cultural values, i.e. those with a distinct identity. Observational experience and logical analysis shows that the occurrence of features from the groups C, V, N is a necessary condition for the functioning of public spaces of cultural values, and features from groups A, S, SD have an additional impact on the assessment of their quality. It should also be noted that the occurrence of only features from the groups A, S, SD can characterize public spaces of a technical nature which – in the proposed valuing approach – classifies them into public spaces of lower quality. To sum up, without S, V and N features, there can be no spaces with cultural values – those with a strong identity, although A, S and SD features affect their quality and are very desirable. In city centres this type of space is most needed, therefore the identity of the place is crucial for their quality. The range of occurrence of these individual features was examined in the selected area in the second part of the research.

The relations between the criteria for belonging to cultural areas and the criteria for assessing the quality of public spaces, as well as the relationships between the notion of cultural area and the notion of place identity, are therefore close and direct. High-quality public spaces in city centres must not only be safe, accessible and aesthetic, but also have a distinctive identity i.e. be "cultural areas". While public spaces of cultural values that are located in city centres are sometimes neglected or poorly developed, they have the potential to obtain a high quality. Whereas, when the only qualities of public spaces are their technical features, when they do not have cultural characteristics, it is difficult to talk about their high quality (Tab. 1).

Table 1: A comparison of the criteria for identifying cultural areas and assessing public spaces.

key features of public spaces of cultural value[3]		**main features to be investigated**	**quality of public spaces evaluation criteria**[4]		
place identity	material, aesthetic and symbolic values	the occurrence of specific forms of development	C: composition/legibility/ image[5] /character/ continuity and enclosure;	criteria for eligibility of public spaces as those of cultural value	main requirements for high-quality public spaces
		the presence of significant visual landmarks			
		the occurrence of special features of the urban layout and composition			
		the specificity of location in the city structure and connections with the environment			
	recognition and naming capability	fixed name			
		historical connotations and continuity			

RESULTS

Description of the functional, spatial, and social transformations of Grzybowski Square

The history of Grzybowski Square dates back to the beginnings of the 17th century, when the irregular space formed spontaneously at the crossroads assumed the role of the market square of the newly formed Grzybów settlement (*jurydyka*).[6] Planned to be developed around the square and alongside streets adjacent to it, the building arrangement on designated normalised plots with dimensions of 23.6 x 41.3 never materialised due to the outbreak of the war with Sweden and the destruction of the suburbs of Warsaw. The plan of unified wooden row houses designed by Battista Gisleni was abandoned and the town was rebuilt quite quickly on largely diversified (particularly in terms of width) plots, which determined the character of the subsequent building arrangement (Sosnowski, 1930).

18th/19th century

In the middle of the 18th century, buildings of a small palace were erected at the area of Grzybowski Square. The outbuildings of the palace, situated parallel to the square frontage were one of the more important structures of that area for a long time. The other frontages of the square were built up with poor wooden houses and small manor houses. In 1786, a small town hall designed by Karol Bogumił Szütz was erected in the middle of the the square, facing Twarda Street, with a well in front of the main entrance. In the course of time, Grzybów became an important centre of the brewing and distillery industry. In the first half of the 19th century, that place was incorporated into the municipal area of Warsaw, which prolonged the dynamic development of that district. Initially rented for the needs of a municipal prison, the town hall was dismantled in 1830. The square was laid with cobblestone for the purpose of obtaining space for the location of the marketplace. At that time, the square was named Rynek Grzybowski [*Grzybów Marketplace*] (Stępiński, 1988).

The Grzybów Marketplace, supported by local markets served as a food trade centre and survived till the end of the 19th century, when it was moved to another location. A building arrangement developed around the square and the trade function clearly dominated here. Former ground-floor wooden houses were replaced with brick tenement houses often designed by recognised architects, such as Corazzi or Lessel. In the second half of the 19th century, the entire surroundings of the square became occupied by small-scale trade located in ground floors of tenement houses and often in back-premises of backyards. In 1855, close to the

3 Author's interpretation of Wallis's theory.
4 After Cegłowska & Matykowski (2010).
5 "*Whilst 'identity' is an objective thing (what a place is actually like), image is a combination of this identity with how a place is perceived. To individuals, the image of a place is therefore their set of feelings and impressions about that place (Spencer and Dixon, 1983). These feelings come from a filtering of information received and collected about the place. This filtering is partly based on individuals' values, beliefs and ideas*" (Montgomery, 1998, 100). The aspect of the place image has not been studied as part of the research.
6 Jurydyka – privately owned tract of land within city area, surrounding the royal city, found from the 15th to the 17th century. There were 20 of them in Warsaw – with own legislation and management.

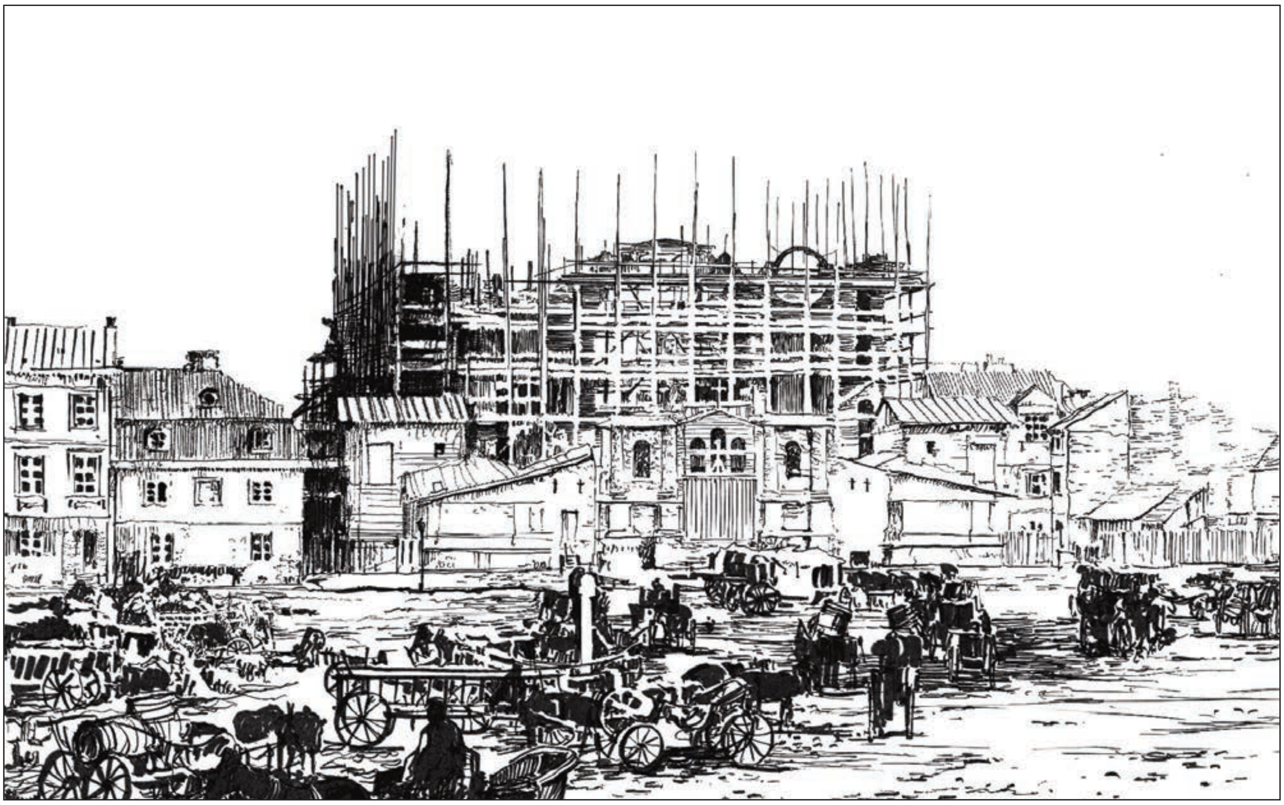


Figure 2: Grzybowski Square in 1867. Construction of the Church of All Saints. A square serving as marketplace (Author: Konrad Szumiński, based on: Jackiewicz, 2015, 55).

south-eastern corner of the square, a well was built, from which the first line of the Warsaw water supply system developed. In 1866, the Grzybów market square was the terminus of the horse tram line, which was replaced with an electric tram line in 1908 (Dziewulski & Radziszewski, 1915).

The spatial shape of the square was determined to the biggest extent by the construction of the Church of All Saints carried out on the initiative of Gabriela Zabiełło's foundation, according to Enrico Marconi's design, in the years 1861-1883 (Fig. 2). The imposing building of the church, with two towers, elevated with monumental stairs and flanked with symmetrically located gates in the form of three-bay porticoes, became a dominant object on the square due to its outline. This was particularly noticeable because other buildings on the square were relatively low, with the prevalence of two- or three-storey houses. The only exception was one four-storey house on the eastern side of the square. The second significant element having an impact on the shape of the square was the construction of a new street named Próżna in 1879, which connected the square with Zielna Street and further with Zielony Square. This made it possible to build new plots up with tenement houses with trade ground-floors (Kasprzycki, 1997).

Interwar period (1918–1945)

After the liquidation of the marketplace, a green area with gas lighting on decorative chandeliers was arranged in the middle of the square, which made the square a more attractive part of the city, used not only for trade, but also for walks and religious ceremonies. Trade still flourished in numerous little shops located in ground-floors of tenement houses. Land and premises were owned almost exclusively by the Jewish population. The parish priest of the Catholic Church of All Saints remarked that a large part of money needed to build the temple was obtained from Jewish shopkeepers and traders (Stępiński, 1988). The square was a public space vibrant with multicultural life (Fig. 3).

The first contemporary development plan of Warsaw, which was prepared in 1916 under the direction of Tadeusz Tołwiński – the so-called *Draft Sketch of the Regulation Plan of the Capital City of Warsaw* – assumed that a new street would be led out of the market square in order to open up the exit in the western direction with a route parallel to the narrow Grzybowska Street. This proposal was not repeated in the general plan for the capital city of Warsaw adopted subsequently in 1938. This plan, however, proposed



Figure 3: Grzybowski Square in 1936. Public space full of movement and well-managed (Author: Konrad Szumiński, based on: https://warszawapozydowsku.wordpress.com/tag/warszawa/).

the extension of Bagno Street towards Marszałkowska Street. There was also a proposal to create a small new square at the junction of Twarda, Graniczna, Królewska and Grzybowska streets.

At that time, Grzybowski Square played an important role in the course of Twarda and Graniczna streets, on which the tram line connecting the city centre with the Ochota district ran. Shortly before World War II, extension of the Marszałkowska Street to one of the *seven squares* mentioned above – released Grzybowski Square from a part of pass-through traffic, but it became entirely excluded from these passages only as a result of the reconstruction of the city centre transport system during the reconstruction of Warsaw after World War II. Part of the houses near the square was destroyed already at the beginning of the war. In 1940, its area was incorporated into the Warsaw ghetto. The ghetto uprising and the end of the war brought further devastation in the building arrangement surrounding the square.

The second half 20th century

In the early postwar period, Grzybowski Square was an oasis of private trade, mainly in iron products. Numerous small shops nested in the remains of the building arrangement that survived the war or in ground-floors of ruined houses. Building works were carried out in the area of the square only at the beginning of the 1960s. The housing needs of Warsaw required the construction of new flats on a large scale. Due to the lack of developed areas on the outskirts of the city, fragments of the city-centre area devastated by the war were built up with new housing estates. These were complexes of buildings with a modern standard architecture and functional urban solutions, which did not respect the traditional scale of the place or urban composition (Fig. 4).

In the times of the new political and social system, numerous plans created after the regaining of independence did not induce decision-makers and designers to sanction the surviving remains of the previous epoch. Some buildings that had luckily avoided total destruction were qualified for demolition in order to make room for a new building arrangement. During works concerning the extension of Świętokrzyska Street and the construction of the Palace of Culture and Science in the years 1952–1955, part of the buildings was removed from the area of Grzybowski Square in order to open the view of the axis of



Figure 4: Grzybowski Square in 1961 (Author: Konrad Szumiński, based on: https://warszawa.naszemiasto.pl/nieistniejace-ulice-warszawy-co-stalo-sie-z-ulica-gnojna/ar/c4-4737551).

the new building and to make room for the building arrangement along Świętokrzyska Street. The next extension of Marszałkowska Street and its execution as the main broad arterial road at the turn of the 1960s caused the liquidation of the connection of Grzybowski Square with Próżna Street, which ultimately cut off the space of the square from the very centre of Warsaw and shifted it to the sidelines of pass-through routes (Stępiński, 1988).

The Six-Year Reconstruction Plan for Warsaw announced by Bolesław Bierut in 1949 envisaged a large expansion of Grzybowski Square towards ul. Marszałkowska. This conception entailed also the idea of diminishing the dominant role of the Church of All Saints in the square in favour of exposing the body of the first Warsaw high-rise building – the former seat of the Polish Joint-Stock Telephone Company (*PASTA*), erected in the years 1906–1908. For the same reasons, the second tower of the

church was not rebuilt for a long time, and there was no consent from the authorities to rebuild the dome. Built at the turn of the 1960s, the Grzybów housing estate assumed the ultimate demolition of tenement houses beside the square and their replacement with free-standing houses. Bagno Street disappeared from the plan of the housing estate, and historical lines of the building development near the square were disturbed.

In the late 1960s, the building of the "Jewish Theatre" was designed near the square according to the plan by Bohdan Pniewski and Władysław Jotkiewicz. The theatre was put to use in 1970 and accidentally – ill-considered, formed the eastern frontage of the square. It was detached from the neighbouring building development and withdrawn from the historical frontage line, which disturbed the harmony of this row of buildings. The theatre refered to neighbouring houses only in respect of its height. With the main entrance situated aside, the building appeared to be incorrectly located.

Thus, the shape of the square was influenced both by the previous driving-through of Marszałkowska Street towards the north and the driving-through and enlargement of Świętokrzyska Street. As a consequence of these two projects, the square has lost its transport functions, a large part of building development and many functional features. Traders removed from buildings to be demolished were transferred to trade pavilions at Marszałkowska Street. In this way, the square became the centre of the Grzybów housing estate. This housing estate was formed of 16-storey and 11-storey residential high-rise buildings. Four buildings were erected from the side of Królewska and Zielna streets, and three were built in place of Bagno Street. From the eastern side, two houses with the trade function of ground floors were situated (one is 18 storeys high, and another is 5 storeys high), and from the south along the church façade, a building of similar height closing the corner of Twarda Street came into being. In spite of the planned demolition, a few tenement houses at Próżna Street survived, and two most valuable houses in the north-western frontage were rebuilt in their former shape. However, the frontage was not put in order. In the western part, another facility was located to supplement the random building development of the square – the ground-floor barrack of offices and a bookstore.

The functions of the square remained relatively unchanged during that last one period, although the standard and importance of the square have decreased. Commercial facilities continued to prevail, being connected mainly with trade specialising in hydraulic products and sanitary devices. Old tenement houses still contained small shops whose owners kept a part of their goods outside on pavements due to the lack of space inside buildings. A huge problem was posed by direct trade from buses converted into mobile sales points, which occupied a fragment along the green area in the area of the outlet of Próżna Street. Bathroom furnishings, parking buses and trailers did not form a convenient neighbourhood for local inhabitants, also having a negative impact on the spatial aesthetics of the place. Because of such abundance of trade services and busy traffic, a part of the road along the green area facing the church was occupied by a car park for baggage taxis.

With so many spatial shortcomings of the square, opening a view of the axis of the Palace of Culture along the church fence was perhaps the least striking step, even though it had been controversial in the past. In spite of being located in the centre of Warsaw, the square contained no elements that could testify to its urban character, although specialised trade sporadically attracted customers from around the city. The square resembled a place situated among housing-estate buildings, being a backyard for local inhabitants rather than an urban public square. It was a bad time in the history of the square, however, it was still a place recognizable by the inhabitants of Warsaw.

Present state

Although Grzybowski Square is currently located in the "background" of busy streets running nearby – Marszałkowska and Świętokrzyska, it functions relatively well and has its own specific features. The first serious change for the better concerned a grassroots initiative aimed at improving the quality and attractiveness of the central part of the square. In 2007, an artistic project *Dotleniacz* [*The Oxygenator*] by the artist, Joanna Rajkowska was presented. In the middle of the green area, a 1 m deep pond with an area of around 140 sq.m. was arranged. It was laid with greenery, decorative shrubs and water lilies and equipped with special air ozonisation and fog production devices. The pond was surrounded with seats, and the site attracted many Warsaw inhabitants, not only those living in the neighbourhood. In 2010, the site was developed according to one unified plan, with a green area with a reservoir designed in place of the pond. Both installations largely improved the attractiveness of this place, especially because it is a relatively peaceful and pleasant area (Fig. 5).

The new investments that had a large impact on the new image of Grzybowski Square at the beginning of the 21st century included the resto-

ration of Próżna Street, the construction of the *Cosmopolitan*, high-rise apartment building (42 storeys) and the ongoing construction of a 26-storey office building in the area of the demolished "Jewish Theater". The new facilities have attracted customers for nearby shops and restaurants, and the place has quickly become popular. The open branch of the Charlotte-Menora restaurant is filled with guests all day long. Not less popular are the others club cafés, where concerts are held, and also the bookshop or the record shop. Grzybowski Square has become a place of everyday and ceremonial meetings. For years, the Izaak Singer's Warsaw Jewish Culture Festival has been held at Grzybowski Square and Próżna Street in summer to recall the old climates of Warsaw. The task of the festival is to promote Jewish culture on a high artistic level, both in its traditional and modern version. A new site of the "Jewish Theater" is to be located in one of the preserved tenement houses at Próżna Street. The other important elements of the square are: water, greenery and places to rest, as well as new floors, making it easier to reach services in surrounding houses.

Characteristics of the examined features of Grzybowski Square

The buildings surrounding Grzybowski Square have changed their form and location over the years. Although the frontage line of the square was interrupted and disturbed, it is still possible to read in the space the unchanging triangular form of the square and the bent line of the longest square frontage (Fig. 6). The buildings have been getting taller and higher quality but there are still several former tenement houses. The Church of All Saints has been the strongest landmark here for many years, although in short periods it disappeared from the landscape of the place or was mutilated.

The most unfavourable elements that affected the image of Grzybowski Square included the location of the Grzybów housing estate with 16-storey buildings that destroyed the old route of Bagno Street. The eastern side, although supplemented with buildings erected in the 1960s, basically maintains the line of development and its height. The construction of the Za Żelazną Bramą housing estate caused the liquidation of Graniczna Street,

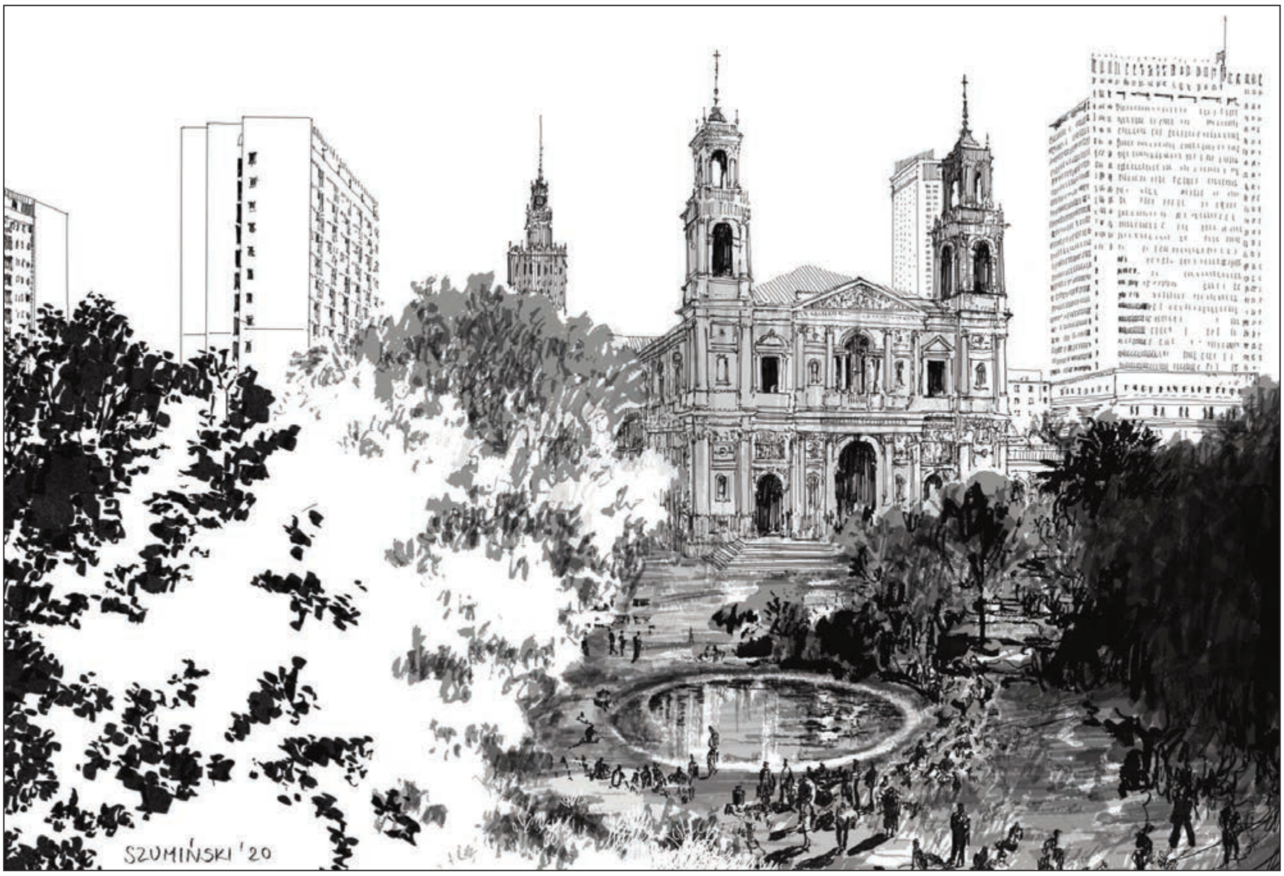


Figure 5: Temporary development of Plac Grzybowski as a result of grassroots social and artistic activities (Author: Konrad Szumiński).

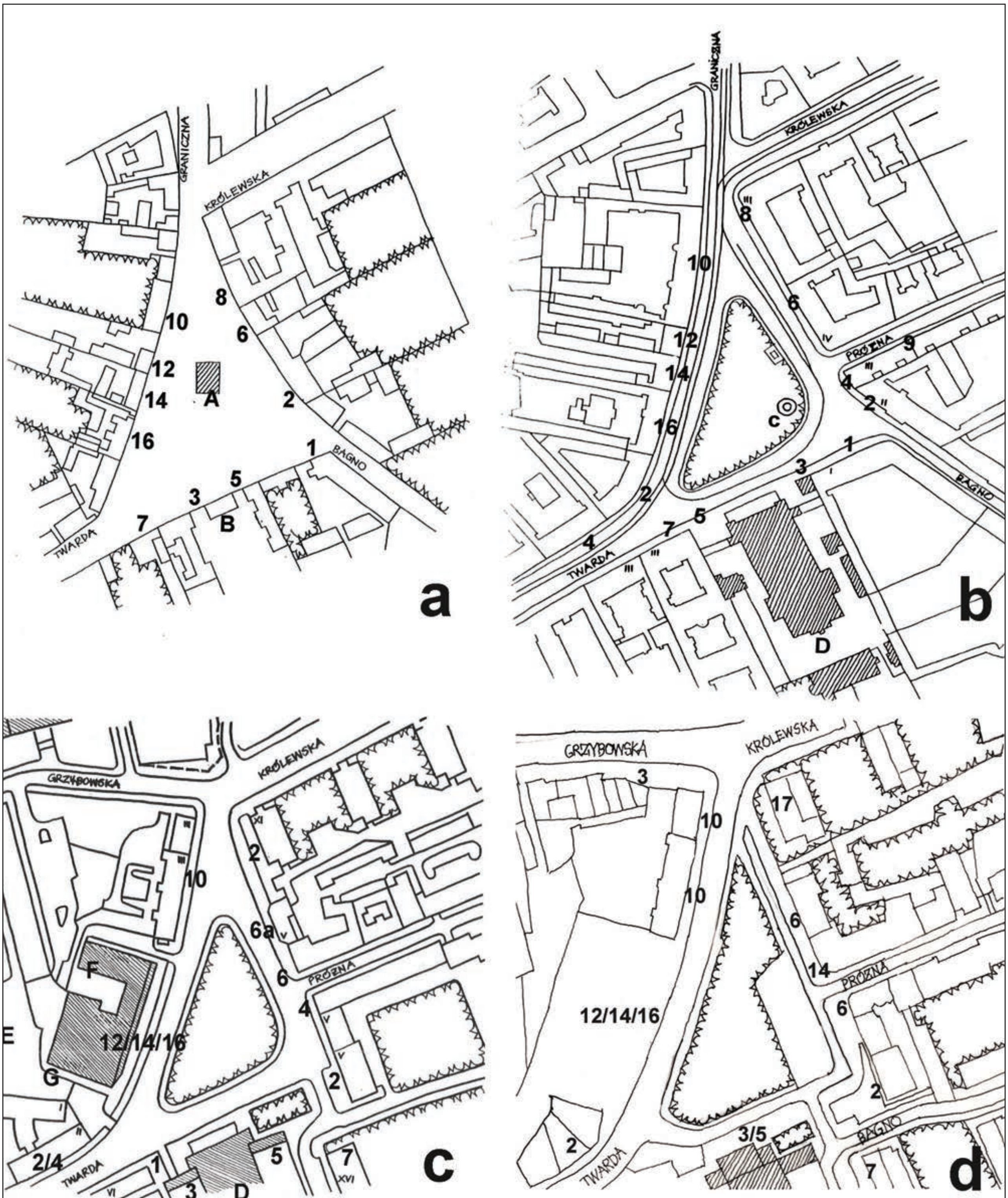


Figure 6: Changes in the layout of the Grzybowski Square and its functions: (a) 18th/19th century, (b) the interwar period, (c) the second half of the 20th century, (d) present state. A –town hall, B – palace, C – well, D – Church of All Saints, E – synagogue, F – bank, G – "Jewish Theatre"; the digital designations are described in the Table 1.

Table 2: List of the functions of buildings (or ground floor buildings) around the square at the studied time intervals.

No	**18th/19th century** *(il. 2a)*	**The interwar period** *(il. 2b)*	**The econd half of the 20th century** *(il. 2c)*	**Present state** *(il. 2d)*
1	road hotel, small shop with metal products	furniture store	small shop, hairdresser, health clinic	housing, small services
2	furniture store	furniture store	laundry, restaurant	restaurant bakery
3/5	palace	catholic church	catholic church, library	catholic church
4		Nożyk house	empty building	„Cosmopolitan" housing tower, restaurant
2/4	-		medical center, small services	
6	small shops	small shops with plumbing and metal products, watchmaker	small shops with plumbing and metal products	bakery restaurant
14a	-	-	-	empty house – to adapt for new "Jewish Theater"
6a	-	-	small shops with chemical articles and paints	hairdresser
7	stores, services, shops with metal products	stores, services, crate factory, money exchange, laundry	housing	housing
8	paper warehouse	small shops with metal products, furniture store, pawnshop	bar	bar
10	shops with metal products, paper warehouse, small industry, commercial and forwarding offices	public limited company offices	small shops and services (electric tools, plumbing and metal products)	small shops and services
12	dormitory, baths, porcelain warehouse	small shops with metal products	"Jewish Theater", Deutsche Bank	office building construction site
14	hotel, paper warehouse	small shops with metal products, hotel		
16	small shops	small shops with metal products		
17	-	-	housing	housing

the route of which was marked by the western frontage of the square. The erection of a new service & residential building at Graniczna Street, on the other side of Królewska Street, with a height of 11 storeys, closed the space of the square from the north, forming a competition for the currently dominant body of the Church of All Saints.

The function and manner of using the square coincided with the functions of the surrounding buildings (Tab. 2). Initial use for industry and trade has evolved towards services better adapted to the needs of the centres' residents – small shops, religious facilities and financial institutions. After the destruction of the war period, the continuity of development was disturbed because although the function of small trade returned here, the rank of these services was degraded, and the square assumed rather the role of open space on the scale of the estate. This situation changed significantly after the political transformation of the 1990s, and the turning point was the implementation of a grassroots initiative improving the image of the square – "Oxygenator". Later, the square was redeveloped, giving it more greenery and recreation, which was the result of a good assessment of the temporarily operating installation and an expression of the need for greenery in the city. Currently, it is a rather quiet place for meetings and recreation, which turns into a bustling city theatre on the days when major cultural events are being organised.

Table 3: Key features of the Grzybowski Square – a final checklist with comments.

EXAMINED FEATURES	YES (+) NO (–)	COMMENTS
1) material, aesthetic, and symbolic values		
the occurrence of specific forms of buildings	+	Around the square there are several buildings, preserved since the nineteenth century. It is both a series of characteristic tenement houses and a characteristic church building. Also, new buildings become icons related to this place.
the presence of significant visual landmarks	+	The most important visual landmark is the Church of All Saints; there are also other semantic and architectural dominants.
the occurrence of special features of the urban layout and composition	+	The triangular form of the square and the bent line of the longest square frontage is well-established. The compactness of the square with the character of an urban interior is a fixed feature of the place.
the specificity of location in the city structure and connections with the environment	+	Direct connection to the most important public spaces in the centre of Warsaw – streets: Marszałkowska, Świętokrzyska, Królewska.
2) recognition and naming capability		
fixed name		Permanent name, unchanging, associated with the tradition, history and cultural heritage of the area – Grzybowski Square (Grzybów Marketplace for a short time). It has symbolic significance, further emphasising the character of the place.
historical connotations		Relatively continuous historical development since the beginning of the 17th century. The most important historical buildings and symbols are reconstructed or cultivated through art.
3) the ability to satisfy certain social groups		
buildings' functions	+	Most of the buildings were characterised by variability of functions, according to the needs of users in various historical periods. The newly constructed buildings also met the current needs.
open spaces' function	+	The way the square has been used has evolved: initially a marketplace, towards a lively square between different services, through the square in the housing estate and shopping facilities of the shops with a car park, up to the green square for recreation and a space for occasional large public events.

DISCUSSION

The presence of all the features of public spaces with cultural values at Grzybowski Square confirms that it can be considered as such. In further in-depth studies, an attempt can be made to assess the degree of completion of the criteria and the extent to which they are met. Which features have the greatest weight? How important is referring to the historical context? Preliminary research shows that the square has easily adapted to current, current social needs, changing its functions and equipment due to the fulfillment of the first two conditions specified by Wallis: material, aesthetic and symbolic values as well as recognition and naming capability.

However, a significant feature of the square is clearly visible – namely its susceptibility to adapt to certain needs and social expectations. It was, in turn, a large market, a place of small trade and services, a place of worship of various religions, a place of war dramas, a residential square with several shops with a general city function, a place of memory, rest, artistic creation, and a place for festive and everyday meetings. The issue of its aesthetic values had the least impact on the importance of this place, and more important was a fixed, recognisable name, location and connections with the neighbourhood, the occurrence of semantic dominants, a wide spectrum of impact – from local to national – and finally the ability to change. It all adds up to the identity of the place, which is the main determinant of the quality of public spaces.

The analysed case of Grzybowski Square in Warsaw shows that public spaces with strong identity located in city centres are able to assume new functions that emerge in the course of social and technical development (Fig. 7). The steadiness of the area occupied by them, network connections with other public spaces and their characteristic history support the processes



Figure 7: Present state of the Grzybowski Square – greenery and water, which is currently one of the most desirable elements of the city (Author: Konrad Szumiński).

of adaptation to new needs and the current situation. The example of this square is also a good reflection of changes occurring in modern cities that are subject to strong political and economic fluctuations and, consequently, social changes.

The relationships between the identity of the place and the quality of public spaces are also interesting. Research shows that Grzybowski Square has remained an important public space with cultural values, despite the fact that for a long time in its history the square's equipment and infrastructure were of a low standard, security requirements were not met, buildings were demolished and replaced, and some services were at a low level. Today it is also not a particularly beautiful space. And yet the square is present in the minds of Warsaw residents and many people visiting the city; it is also willingly used. The social activity and creativity of the artists led to the renovation of the square and its development to the highest standards. Therefore, it is now also an accessible, safe place that meets the requirements of sustainable development. It can be assumed that this was possible due to the identity of the place, although its aesthetic value left much to be desired. The cultural value of the square decided that it is still an important public space in Warsaw. Therefore, it can be considered that this is a key factor in shaping high-quality public spaces. This knowledge can help city authorities in conducting spatial policy. Identification of public spaces with cultural values, regardless of whether they are historic sites protected by law or not, can be the first step to shape continuous systems of public spaces in city centres and to stage activities to improve their standard – and a proposed checklist based on Wallis criteria can assist with this. It is important to analyse all aspects from a historical perspective because it is the continuity in time that is important for the assessment of individual factors.

CONCLUSIONS

Grzybowski Square is a place where relics of former epochs meet signs of modernity and where buildings with various architectural styles exist alongside traces of various urban planning visions. It

is a public place marked by contrasts in many ways – it is both close to and outside the main stage of the city centre. History blends with modernity here – one can see a fragment of the old western frontage and the high-altitude centre of Warsaw rising in the background. The square looks like a place with local features, at the same time being a popular urban public space. It is a space where various social groups meet. In the nearby area, there is a synagogue, a Catholic church, corporate offices, residential high-rise buildings and the last small shops with metal items. Around the square, thousands of people live in unified and monotonous blocks that used to be symbols of modern postwar Warsaw. Amongst them, we can see new symbolic architectural objects – office buildings and financial centres of the capitalistic capital, and luxury apartment buildings spring up in the neighbourhood. The area attracts also those who recollect the pre-war Jewish community and the tragedy of the ghetto. These layers physically overlap with the same space, although they are not coherent. However, all of them shape the identity of this place together and make it unique and popular among inhabitants and visitors.

Despite the co-existence of so many mutually disharmonious buildings and structures and traces of contradictory urban concepts, the turbulent history and changes in internal relationships, the square retains its function as an important public space. It was possible due to the location in the public space system, durability and symbolism of the name, historical connotations, fixed spatial form, occurrence of significant visual landmark. As a result of the appearance of new social requirements as to the function and standard of development this square had to be adapted to current social needs. This shows that the adaptability of public spaces with a distinct identity is huge. In the future, the square under analysis is very likely to assume some other functions, and its surroundings will be again transformed adequately to civilization challenges.

IDENTITETA PROSTORA KOT KLJUČNA DETERMINANTA KAKOVOSTI JAVNIH PROSTOROV

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POVZETEK

Bistvo javnega prostora je določeno z vlogo, ki jo ima le-ta kot kraj družbene dejavnosti in kot kraj, s katerim se prebivalci jasno istovetijo. Vredno je opozoriti na dejstvo, da tako opredeljeno bistvo javnih prostorov ostaja nespremenjeno, navkljub civilizacijskim spremembam, povezanim s funkcionalnimi in prostorskimi spremembami. Lahko celo postavimo tezo, da je za kakovost javnih prostorov ključni dejavnik identiteta kraja, razumljena v smislu mocne poistovetenosti s krajem, dejavnik identitete kraja pa se vedno pojavlja v prostorih s kulturno vrednostjo. Identiteta kraja ima svojo arhitekturno in urbano razsežnost, ki je v obstoju določenih oblik gradnje in urbane postavitve, ki so značilne za območje, ali v posebnosti njegove lokacije v strukturi mesta in povezav z okolico. Čeprav lahko takšni prepoznavni javni prostori izgubijo nekatere funkcije, lahko prevzamejo nove funkcije, kakor se pojavijo tekom družbenega in tehničnega razvoja. Stalnost območja, ki ga zasedajo javni prostori, omogoča večkratno najdenje istih mest, zgodovinske konotacije pa še dodatno okrepijo identifikacijo z njimi. Članek predstavlja rezultate raziskav, ki dokazujejo pravilnost tako postavljene teze. V prispevku so predstavljeni rezultati raziskovanja razmerij med identiteto kraja, kulturnimi vrednotami javnih prostorov in kakovostjo odprtih prostorov v mestnih središčih. Posebna pozornost je bila namenjena tistim značilnostim javnih prostorov, ki jim omogočajo, da se jih razvrsti med prostore s kulturnimi vrednotami. V prvem delu raziskav smo poskušali odgovoriti na vprašanje, kakšne so relacije med merili pripadnosti kulturnim območjem in merili za oceno javnih prostorov? Analizirane so bile tudi relacije med pojmoma kulturnega območja in identitete kraja. To je bilo storjeno na podlagi študija literature in kompilacije v njej predstavljenih pristopov do: 1. značilnosti javnih prostorov s kulturnimi odlikami, 2. dejavnikov, ki oblikujejo identiteto kraja, 3. meril za oceno javnih prostorov. Obseg pojavnosti zgoraj omenjenih značilnosti je bil preučen na izbranem fragmentu območja z uporabo kvalitativnih in kvantitativnih metod. Študija je zajela delček varšavskega javnega prostora - Grzybowski trg (Plac Grzybowski). Posamezne raziskave so zajemale analizo zgodovinskega gradiva - objavljenih zemljevidov in fotografij ter literature na predmetno temo. Preanalizirane so bile funkcije stavb, obdajajočih izbrani trg, nakar so bile predstavljene glede na štiri zgodovinska obdobja, za katera so značilni različni, specifični družbeni, politični in gospodarski pogoji. Raziskave so pokazale, da se je omenjeni trg, čeprav so velike spremembe teh pogojev močno vplivale na njegov razvoj, vedno prilagajal trenutnim potrebam in možnostim. Te odvisnosti so bile dvosmerne, saj je tudi način prostorskega razvijanja trga vplival na to, kako ga je mestna skupnost uporabljala. Čeprav so bile funkcije preučevanega trga v zgodovini različne, je ves čas pomemben javni prostor mesta.

Ključne besede: javni prostor, identiteta kraja, mestni center, mestno središče, trg, Varšava

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CHALLENGES OF ADAPTIVE REUSE IN NEW FUNCTIONAL TYPOLOGIES OF SOCIALIST MODERNISM ARCHITECTURE: INTANGIBLE DIMENSIONS

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ABSTRACT

The paper explores the reasons for the difficulties to find an efficient adaptive reuse scheme for the abandoned socialist modernism buildings representing new functional typologies, which were established for emerging uses imposed by bygone socialist regime. The paper deepens into intangible aspects tackled by adaptive reuse: rising from modernism and socialism ideological backgrounds, resulting in comprehension of architectural objects, and featuring cultural significance attributed nowadays. New architectural typologies: Funeral Palaces in Soviet Lithuania and Museums of Revolution and memorial centers in socialist Yugoslavia, are discussed with a closer focus on Funeral Palace "Sorrow" in Kaunas, Lithuania, and Home of Revolution in Nikšić, Montenegro.

Keywords: twentieth-century architectural heritage, socialist architecture, new architectural typology, adaptive reuse, Funeral Palace, Home of Revolution

SFIDE DEL RIUSO ADATTIVO NELLE NUOVE TIPOLOGIE FUNZIONALI DELL'ARCHITETTURA MODERNISTA SOCIALISTA: DIMENSIONI INTANGIBILI

SINTESI

L'articolo esplora le ragioni delle difficoltà nel trovare uno schema di riqualificazione adattativa per gli edifici del modernismo socialista abbandonati rappresentanti le nuove tipologie funzionali istituite per gli usi emergenti imposti dal regime socialista del passato. L'articolo approfondisce gli aspetti intangibili che la riqualificazione adattativa affronta: il fatto di derivare dai contesti ideologici del modernismo e del socialismo, risultando nella comprensione degli oggetti architettonici, ed essendo caratterizzato dall'importanza culturale che gli viene oggi attribuita. Nuove tipologie architettoniche: Palazzi Funerari nella Lituania sovietica e Musei della Rivoluzione e memoriali nella Jugoslavia socialista vengono discussi ponendo particolare attenzione al Palazzo "Tristezza" a Kaunas, Lituania, e alla Casa della Rivoluzione a Nikšić, Montenegro.

Parole chiave: eredità dell'architettura del ventesimo secolo, architettura del periodo socialista, nuova tipologia architetturale, riqualificazione adattativa, Palazzo Funerare, Casa della Rivoluzione

INTRODUCTION

Contemporary societies face huge challenge of renovation, reuse, and conservation of 20th century buildings, as they form a significant part of our built environment. The modernism legacy is an extremely important resource both in terms of social, economic and environmental sustainability, and as a part of architectural heritage to be preserved for future generations. Reuse is a common architectural practice to keep on buildings functioning. In general, reuse is applied for the buildings that lost their original (or previous) function, and do not meet the standards for efficiency or comfort and needs of society anymore; it is a pragmatic transformation of a building driven by functional and financial intentions. Whereas the strategy of adaptive reuse brings disciplines of architecture and conservation together, as it points to reuse of historic buildings driven by heritage preservation intention (Plevoets & Van Cleempoel, 2011). Internationally acknowledged *The Burra Charter* refers to adaptive reuse (adaptive re-use) that calls for minimal change and minimal impact on cultural significance of the place during the introduction of new uses (ICOMOS – International Council on Monuments and Sites, Australia, 2013), thus it points to the deep respect for cultural significance of an architectural object.

The paper approaches the problem of adaptive reuse of socialist modernism public buildings that feature cultural significance. The question is complex. Basically, it covers questions that are general to adaptive reuse of modernist buildings. Moreover, modernist buildings built under socialist regime are loaded with ideology that melted away along with geo-political overturns. Post-socialist societies face challenge of adapting buildings of socialist modernism that lost their original function. However, in certain cases, efficient reuse scheme is not achieved, and abandoned buildings are left to devastation. The more culturally significant architecture of a building is, the more anxiety its degradation causes.

The paper explores the reasons for the difficulties to find an efficient adaptive reuse scheme for the abandoned buildings representing new functional typologies in socialist architecture. New functional typologies, that had no prototypes and were expected to be developed up to repeatability, were established for emerging uses imposed by socialist regime. New functional typologies represent the problem of adaptive reuse of socialist legacy in the sharpest way as these buildings accommodate programs guided mostly by ideological rationale by bygone regime. The studies of buildings of pioneering socialist typologies, functions of which lost their relevance in contemporary post-transitional society, help to reveal the importance of functional and ideological manifestation in their architecture that cause a lot of specific challenges in their adaptive reuse at present. The fundamental questions explored by case studies point to functional and ideological resilience of socialist modernism architecture: as "*Can you distinguish a building from its function? Can the building be separated from the ideals that lie at its core? Does that result in anything other than an empty shell?*" (Hatherley, cited in de Boer, 2008); rephrased, if the project was designed to propagate socialist ideology, can the building be adapted to the relevant needs of the post-socialist society under the changed political, economic, social, and cultural contexts?

The paper focuses on intangible dimensions, or, referring to the dichotomy of form and content, on the content of an architectural object, leaving the material dimensions of adaptability, which is a planar-spatial or technological flexibility of an architectural object, aside. In the theoretic part, it deepens into intangible aspects that abandoned building accommodates and its adaptive reuse is going to face: rising from modernism and socialism ideological backgrounds; resulting in perception of architectural objects; and featuring cultural significance attributed to it by contemporary post-socialist society.

Further, the new functional typologies are discussed that were developed in socialist Yugoslavia (1945–1992) and Soviet Lithuania (1944–1990). Although both countries have suffered a transition from socialist to capitalist state at the end of the 20th century due to political upheavals, they represent different types of socialist regime. Soviet Lithuania, as a republic of Soviet Union, represents country of highly centralized government and planned economy, while socialist Yugoslavia deliberately positioned itself halfway between the Eastern and Western blocs as a federation based on self-managed system and market economy. Alongside with new urban planning and architectural concepts and practices that are characteristic for Eastern Bloc, these two socialist states, have developed new functional typologies that were unique for these particular countries and not applied elsewhere: Funeral Palaces in Soviet Lithuania, and Museums of Revolution and memorial centers in socialist Yugoslavia. Each typology's specific ideological background, architectural design peculiarities and the use of this legacy at present is analyzed with a closer focus on a selected representative. The selection criteria for the representatives: the building is characteristic example of modernist architecture of a new functional typology; its original function is abandoned and it has been degrading; it draws attention of professional community as a high-quality piece of architecture. The selected representatives are Funeral Palace "Sorrow" in Kaunas, Lithuania (arch. A. Paulauskas, completed in 1978), and Home of Revolution in Nikšić, Montenegro (arch. M. Mušič,

competition in 1976 – not completed). Both case studies enable to understand the impact of modernism and socialism ideologies on architectural design, its perception through meanings communicated and atmosphere produced, and attribution of cultural significance nowadays, having in mind the differences of political, social and economic contexts of the building time and the present time.

CONTRADICTIONS IN ADAPTIVE REUSE THAT RISE FROM IDEOLOGY OF SOCIALIST MODERNISM

Ideological implications in socialist modernism architecture

Socialist modernism covers the architecture from the socialist states of Central and Eastern Europe in the period from Stalin's death resulting in the end of Stalinist socialist realism in 1955, until the end of socialist era in early 1990s. Modern Movement tendencies in socialist modernism architecture were followed in the specific ways, mostly determined by political, economic and social reasons.

In spite of geo-political peculiarities, the basic challenges towards conservation and adaptive reuse of architecture of modernism, and socialist modernism as well, rise from functional integrity as a central theme in Modern Movement. The truth of architecture, among the other aspects, was understood as the relationship between the form and the use of the building. Modernists were not interested in continuity or eternity: for the sake of objectivity and truthfulness, they often proclaimed total replacement of a building instead of its adaptation (Perkkio, 2016; Kuipers, 2016). In such a way, ideology of modernism presupposes limited possibilities for functional flexibility. Two concepts – adaptive reuse, and function as a reason for the existence of a building – contradict and predetermine questions addressing the very idea of reuse of modernist architecture. The *Madrid – New Delhi Document* calls to "*establish limits of acceptable change*" in implementing conservation planning processes in adaptive reuse of 20th century modernist buildings (ICOMOS & ISC20C – International Scientific Committee on 20th Century Heritage, 2017). Identification of the limits of acceptable change of function is one of the key questions in the field.

It is difficult to mark the distinction between socialist and international architecture of modernism. In Lithuania, international professional experience, by means of architectural magazines or study trips to Finland, was leaking through the Iron curtain. In Yugoslavia, the possibilities to follow international tendencies in architecture were open. The main differences between socialist and international architecture of modernism lie not in stylistic tendencies, functional or aesthetic priorities, but in saturation with ideology of political regime. The socialist architecture was deeply influenced by the socio-political and economic agenda of the countries. In socialist countries, state apparatus turned architecture into an ideological tool of communication targeted to impact social behavior towards the one of the so-called 'socialist society'. Architects were intended to create the ways to communicate the ideological 'truths', especially in design of public buildings.

After the collapse of socialist regime resulting in sovereignty of Lithuania and breakup of federation of Yugoslavia, political, socio-economic and cultural circumstances in these countries changed significantly. However, socialist public buildings that were designed to carry ideological load explicitly, still keep the potential of political codes, for example, heraldic symbols, and resonate ideological meanings memorizing indoctrinated functions, narratives or practices. G. Brooker describes such a building as politically or ideologically 'contaminated', therefore, it is subjugated by its past; the infection lies in domination of "*the propagandistic role that it once contained and subsequently is therefore corrupted by the associations and memories of its previous purpose*" (Brooker, 2006, 2). In the eyes of post-transitional society, 'contaminated' socialist buildings are dissonant to contemporary mindset. Society would favor the maintenance or reuse of symbolic buildings excluding communication of ideological codes and meanings (Petrulis, 2019). Is it possible to strip off 'contaminated' codes, meanings, and associations from a building without undermining its cultural significance? This could be explained by program.

Program as a uniting principle in modernist architecture

The primacy of the program became one of the ultimate strives of modernist architecture. "*In 1960, the fundamental question was the nature of the "program" conceived of in the widest possible sense, adopted for architecture, a program that comprehended and subsumed both function and form*" (Vidler, 2003, 73), along with environmental concerns, technology, into an integral single discourse. According to U. Eco, beside the primary function *utilitas* or the use of the building, there is a secondary – communicative – function of architecture or, as he calls it, architecture's symbolic connotations. He calls "*the symbolic connotations functional because although they may not be immediately identified with the functions narrowly defined they do represent (and communicate) in each case a real social utility of the object*" (Eco, 1997, 179). The logic that initially grounds the implementation of the integrity of form, function, symbolic connotations and other concerns is determined by program.

Program is understood as the system of intentions through which the future spatial system of the building is made, the relationship between space and masses, and even the standpoints of the architect towards different functions of architecture: the language, ways of communicating, goals of representation of certain beliefs, social relations and such. (Konstantinović, 2013, 19)

As a system of determinants, program guarantees that any component of buildings and spaces cannot be omitted without affecting the others. The complex integrity established by program complicates reuse of modernist architecture, as the function is embodied in volumetric-spatial design and communicated by symbolic connotations. Accommodated program assures that in case the function is stripped off an architectural object, its integrity is violated, as it loses one of the determinants. In case of socialist public buildings, secondary function is fueled by Modern Movement's truths and doctrine of socialism. While the evidence of the first one is considered as an intrinsic mark of the 20th century architecture, the manifestation of the latter's political ideology at present is referred to as 'contaminated'. That is why rooted, and objectionable at the same time, position of socialist ideology in the very core of an architectural object complicates its adaptive reuse for the needs of contemporary post-socialist society even more.

Pioneering practice in new functional typologies

Architecture is reproduced through functional types that express the continuing patterns and features, which connect them with the past. A need for a new use arises induced by exterior impulse like breaks (or lack) in society, economics, culture, etc. In case of new socialist typologies, a role of an exterior impulse is played by socialist ideology, directing towards an intended shift in society's mentality. When an architect got state commission to initiate and design a building for an emerging use, he had to invent the future building's program, forasmuch no prototype, no tested program was set to follow. In order to achieve a desired social behavior, an architect had to settle symbolic connotations and ideological standpoints into functional arrangement, and to translate programmatic ideas into a genuine form. That kind of creative process – setting interrelations to be developed up to repeatability, in other words, building a prototype – proves to be pioneering, as the new typology outreaches the unique solutions within the frame of existing typology.

"*When a new type emerges – when an architect is able to describe a new set of formal relations which generates a new group of buildings or elements – then that architect's contribution has reached the level of generality and anonymity*" (Moneo, 1978). Generality allows repeatability; an object for an emerging use becomes a prototype for a new functional typology. Architectural, moreover, cultural significance of establishing new functional typologies by the means of architectural design lies in its pioneering practice and its complexity. The set up complexity proves that physical envelope of these buildings is just a constituent part of the whole, an output of system of correlations. Therefore, adaptive reuse scheme cannot focus on materiality of a building underestimating its intangible dimensions and integrity of the whole.

IMPORTANCE OF PRODUCTION OF MEANINGS AND ATMOSPHERE

The further set of intangible aspects that are of major importance to adaptive reuse and enable deeper perception and conception of an architectural object, comprise meanings communicated and atmosphere produced as an outcome of the program. Notion of meanings in architecture refers to the definition given in *The Burra Charter*: "*Meanings denote what a place signifies, indicates, evokes or expresses to people*" (ICOMOS Australia, 2013, 5). Architecture communicates with its users through meanings, both the meanings intended initially, and the symbolic connotations attributed by the people inhabiting it. They speak about the social utility of a building, about the values of certain groups using that building, state that ordered it, or the architect that designed it (Eco, 1997). Architecture is capable of multiple interpretations from the moment of conception to the moment of interpretation by the person using it, and the original idea of the creator may differ from the way the public interprets it (Whyte, 2006). The production of meanings is a continuous process, as meanings develop and change over time.

Another intangible dimension of architecture that relates to the production of meanings is the atmosphere (ambiance) of space that is linked to feelings, emotions and perception, and that refers to comprehension or grasping the meaning. The notion of atmosphere in architecture could be paralleled to the concept of spirit of place (*genius loci*) considering their content and significance. Concept of atmosphere of space does not disregard the rational approach, it is "*rather supplementing it with an additional contribution which would see it as a 'generator' of feelings and which adds comprehension to the explanation*" (Napoleone, 2017, 232). Preserving of the fragile atmosphere of space during the adaptive reuse is a vulnerable issue. Maintaining material elements is not enough to ensure the preservation of the spirit of place. Changes in atmosphere may cause

the feelings of loss or betrayal, and the quality of the new design is insufficient to compensate the loss (Napoleone, 2017).

In the buildings that lost their original function, the meanings architecture once expressed through its use, activities, shared values and interpretations by society at that time, remain as traces of their former selves, still readable in structural and physical elements, still alive in memories, narratives, associations, and still comprehendible in its atmosphere. Adaptive reuse strategies towards ideologised architecture, as Brooker argues, can be used to either activate or suppress meanings and memories a building evokes through the process of uncovering, clarification and interpretation; intervention can be destructive as much as it can be constructive. During the reuse, re-edification of these memories, values, and narratives leads to a complexity that is impossible to replicate in new build architecture (Brooker, 2006).

CHALLENGES BY CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE ATTRIBUTED BY CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

Since the inceptive international charters for cultural heritage, it is recommended to use historic objects in order to ensure the continuity of their life. *The Athens Charter* (1931) recommends that "*they should be used for a purpose which respects their historic or artistic character*" and "*their use makes it possible to avoid the dangers of dismantling and reinstating the portions to be preserved*" (ICOMOS, 1931). *The Venice Charter* (1964) turns recommendation into requirement that the reuse "*must not change the lay-out or decoration of the building*" (ICOMOS, 1964). Concentrating on the 20th century architectural heritage, *Madrid – New Delhi Document* emphasizes: "*when change of use is under consideration, care must be taken to find an appropriate reuse that conserves the cultural significance*" (ICOMOS & ISC20C, 2017). Therefore, adaptive reuse is required instead of insensitive reuse or demolition.

After the collapse of socialist regime, the buildings representing new typologies intended for socialist societies became hostages of a contradictory situation. They lose relevance and dissonate to the changed political-ideological and social-cultural contexts, although in many cases feature architecture of high quality – as V. Petrulis points out, objects that communicate strong message are often outstanding from artistic point of view (Petrulis, 2019, 24). In many cases, because of values attributed, this type of architecture becomes a part of heritage, either legalized or potential. As a witness of its time and political regime, socialist heritage is controversial by its nature. Using the term coined by J. E. Turnbridge and G. J. Ashworth, it is a representative of 'dissonant heritage', a culturally constructed heritage with a big variety of possible heritages, each shaped for the requirements of specific consumer groups (Turnbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Since the concept of cultural heritage covers the relationship between people, places and stories, the difficulties in evaluating and preserving socialist heritage stem precisely from the fact that it stands as a reminder of the previous system. Political narrative is recognizable and symbolic potential is readable, therefore, it revives controversial memories and emotions, and causes a negative stance of the public opinion in certain cases (Petrulis, 2019). However, *The Declaration of San Antonio* (ICOMOS, 1996) argues that conflicting interests if mediated successfully in a tolerant and inclusive way might actually increase and diversify values connected to the heritage site.

Evaluating 20th century architectural heritage, "*its cultural significance may rest in its tangible attributes, including physical location, views, design* […]. *Significance may also lie in use, historic, social, scientific or spiritual associations, or evidence of creative genius and/or in its intangible values*" (ICOMOS & ISC20C, 2017). In order to keep peculiar, meaningful attributes during adaptive reuse, it is important to clarify what elements contribute to cultural significance. Referring to G. F. Araoz, "*what really is crucial for and at the very core of conservation is understanding where those values rest, for that is what we are called to conserve and protect. These are what I call the vessels of values and significance*" (Araoz, 2011, 59). In conservation of modernist architecture, the integrity of the building that is predetermined by its program is prioritized over mere materiality (Perkkio, 2016). Admitting that the values of heritage lie first of all in the content that is accommodated by and attributed to material substance (Petrulis, 2019), intangible attributes like use, symbolic connotations, and the resulting atmosphere, cannot be overestimated, even in the buildings with negative connotations.

It is crucial to preserve symbolic connotations and atmosphere during the adaptive reuse, in order to maintain continuity in communicating meanings and resonating feelings, as these intangible aspects, in synergy with material substance and use, determine what the place actually is, how people understand, perceive and feel it, and, therefore, vessel its cultural significance.

CASES OF NEW SOCIALIST ARCHITECTURAL TYPOLOGIES

The architectural typologies that provided domestic, cultural and social welfare of socialist people, were developed thoroughly on ideological foundation of socialist social and cultural policies, and standardized regulation. Besides the ongoing architectural typologies adapted and rearranged, there were new typologies established. They had to set ideologically programmed social behavior by accommodating newly founded social practices of socialist society. Focus countries experienced the new typologies on different basis. In socialist Lithuania, because of Soviet anti-religious policy, new typologies of civil ceremonial buildings were developed in order to replace the sacred spaces: Wedding Palace instead of church and Funeral

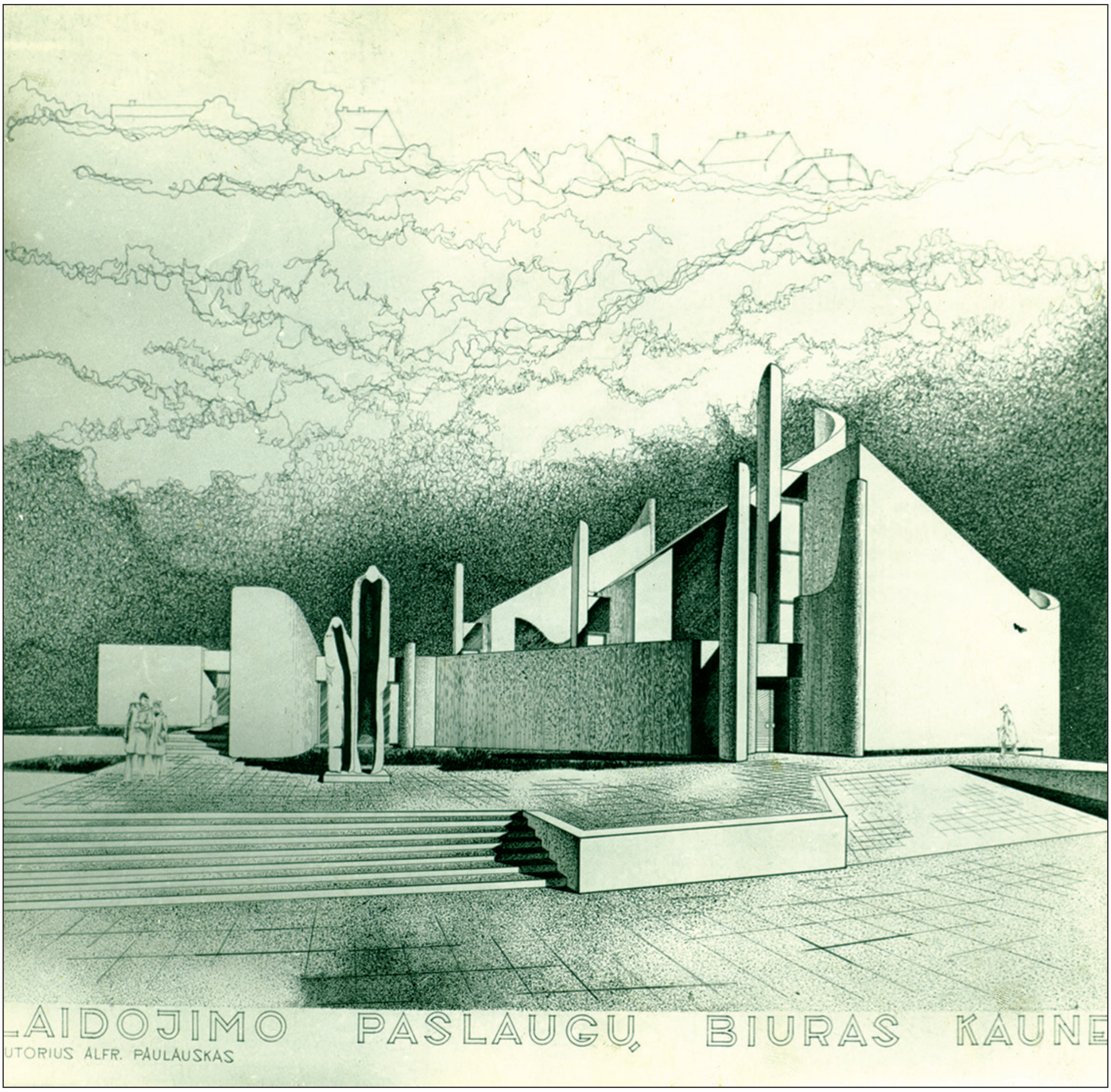


Figure 1: Drawing of Funeral Palace "Sorrow" in Kaunas, Lithuania by the architect A. Paulauskas (Source: Courtesy of private archive of A. Paulauskas. Reproduced with permission from his daughter).

Palace instead of traditional places of mourning rituals such as a cemetery chapel or home (Drėmaitė, 2017). The paper focuses on the latter functional typology as only Funeral Palaces remained unique to socialist Lithuania and were not implemented elsewhere. In socialist Yugoslavia, the specific hybrid typologies of Museums of Revolution and memorial centers, unique for the federation, merged memorial, cultural and educational functions. They were built upon the endeavor to use culture for spreading socialist ideology and to enable homogenization of Yugoslav peoples and nations (Stevanovic, 2017, 378).

Funeral Palaces in Lithuania

As Soviet regime directed its attention to so-called civil ceremonies of secularized society, the new functional typology of Funeral Palaces was commissioned in the 1960s. The typology was a result of atheistic politics of Soviet Union. It was intended as a place for socialist ceremonies and rituals based on traditional mourning rituals stripped off their religious content (Drėmaitė, 2014). Several funeral buildings were built in the largest Lithuanian cities with a creative aspiration for an original

piece of architecture featuring dramatic narrative and strong emotional impact. The first representative of this typology was built in Vilnius in 1975. Later, the Funeral Palace "Sorrow" was erected in Kaunas in 1978. Besides, two projects for a small funeral building were realized, one of them, in an identic shape in three Lithuanian cities (Drėmaitė, 2017).

Setting the program for Funeral Palace was a challenge for architects, as they had to construct a prototype. Besides the functional and spatial arrangement of the ceremony, the architectural program covered ideological load with secularized and re-developed rituals, narratives and meanings, and emotional effect on the observer.

> *It seems that tradition (in a very broad sense) influenced the new architectural spaces created to practice new secular socialist rituals. Therefore, from the social point of view, these buildings are seen as substitutes for sacral spaces […]. From the architectural point of view, they represent late Soviet mannerism in architecture as a certain simulacra filled with surplus meanings and decorations.* (Drėmaitė, 2014, 64)

All funeral buildings implemented share similar perception process and impact on the observer, which is reinterpreted manner of experiencing sacral buildings. The funeral buildings are situated distanced from neighboring buildings, and stand out natural environment or cemetery in the background. The volumetric structures feature the expressive dynamic composition of diagonal shapes and the contrast between one floor part of stowed standard spaces and the part for mourning rooms exposed in high volumes. In the mourning spaces, daylight penetrates through single stained glass surface or spotlights high above, both cutting off any connection to neighborhood and everyday life out there. A lot of attention is paid to create powerful dynamics of spatial experience. After enjoying the expressive sculpturesque exterior, one firstly enters cramped low space that eventually overflows in the morning rooms. Specific architectural design solutions are used to resonate with the mourning rituals set by the particular function. Architecture reflects several ideologies intertwined. Modernism grounds the integrity of form, function and meanings, and sets late modernism volumetric spatial relationships and architectural language. Socialist ideology guides the intentions of functional organization and censors meanings. As any Christian symbolism is forbidden, signs and associations from ethnic tradition, like shape of archaic house or symbol of pagan sun-cross, replace them. The particular set that was never used before and that comprises volumetric spatial relationship, solemn inward oriented atmosphere rich in meanings and symbols, and specific way of perception organized to experience the ceremony – support the novelty of functional type, and quality of this synergy and its manifestation ground the artistic, historic and social values.

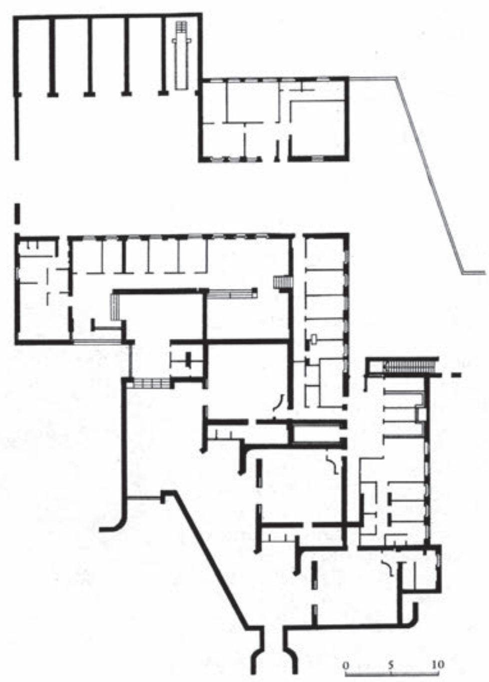


Figure 2: The plan of Funeral Palace "Sorrow" in Kaunas, Lithuania (Source: Courtesy of private archive of A. Paulauskas. Reproduced with permission from his daughter).

Comparing four implemented original projects as the only representatives of this specific typology, the one in Kaunas features perhaps the most expressive, meaningful and emotionally powerful architecture. Consequently, it has been listed on the Register of Cultural Property of Lithuania. Paradoxically, this Funeral Palace was no longer in use since 2006, as the owners did not wish to continue it, while most of the other ones were renovated according to the contemporary standards in order to be able to compete with traditional sacred spaces and modern well finished facilities to be used for funerals.

Funeral Palace "Sorrow" (Laidotuvių rūmai "Liūdesys") in Kaunas, Lithuania, was designed by the architect Alfredas Paulauskas (1928-2013) and was built in 1978. The building of Funeral Palace "Sorrow" in Kaunas represents expressionist architecture in the late modernism style. It features dynamic sculpturesque volumetric spatial arrangement, and visually effective architectural expression. The building's exterior is a figurative interpretation of a church, its interior spatial structure and light articulation alludes to gothic chapels (Almonaitytė-Navickienė, 2018).

When talking about the spatial distribution of functions that settle down the ceremony according to mourning



Figure 3: Interior photo of the hall in Funeral Palace "Sorrow" in Kaunas, Lithuania (Source: Courtesy of private archive of A. Paulauskas. Reproduced with permission from his daughter).

rituals, "Sorrow" has an elongated hall, with the entrance on one end, and the exit on the other end as an allusion to an existential journey. Both doors are seen from the main street – the entry is smaller and closer to the street. The bigger exit, more distanced from the street, forms a plateau in front of the building, marked by the statue "Sorrow". Along the length of the hall, three mourning rooms are attached, where the coffins are displayed (Fig. 1, 2). The spatial order enables the full immersion into the ritual without distractions.

High emotional effect on its user is achieved by architectural means of spatial disposition, highlights and interior finishing. The spatial narrative is similar to the dynamics of spatial experience in sacral objects, as distinction between public and private spaces was strengthened by the differences of heights. "The dramatic feel of its interior space was heightened by black, violet and red ceramic work, sculptural details, local lighting, and torch-like glass light fixtures" (Drėmaitė, 2017). The main hall offers only one source of natural lighting at the end of the hall. The mourning rooms are artificially lighted with the aforementioned torch-like lamps (an allusion to archaic tradition), but also have a diffuse light with the invisible opening above the coffin. All of the interior elements and furniture used in the building were designed for this specific object. The synergy of interior arrangement and elements comprise a solemn, focused, and surreal atmosphere in line with the mourning ritual (Fig. 3). Inward exposed interior spaces are similar to other Funeral Palaces.

The distinctive intangible features of Funeral Palace derive from the aims of typology and the guidelines of the architectural program. The symbolic connotations and, consequently, atmosphere produced rise from secularized, yet spiritually rich, emotionally powerful and semantically meaningful architecture. The architect carefully constructed the communication through meanings and associations by means of smartly solved coherent function and articulated spatial performance, also through a subtle choice of materials, treatment of light, and interior details. A specific strong atmosphere overwhelms the user – it impresses in a ceremonial yet



Figure 4: Degradation of Funeral Palace "Sorrow" in Kaunas, Lithuania (Photo: Andrius Liakas, 2019; Reproduced with author's permission).

somber manner and, in such a way, it accomplishes the performance of the building in a full scope. The synergy of architectural expression and intangible qualities that saturate it, both rising from the pioneering program and peculiarities of function, should be acknowledged as the vessel of its values and cultural significance in terms of statements by G. F. Araoz (2011); consequently, these complex relationships should inspire, guide and enrich the re-interpretation of the object during the adaptive reuse.

Since the political situation changed after regaining the Independence of Lithuania in 1990, the mourning places are no longer restricted to secular ones, and this typology as a simulacra of sacred spaces is not in a demand as such. As many buildings from Soviet period, they need a thorough renovation to meet contemporary needs and standards. When the Funeral Palace "Sorrow" was sold to the private owner, he had a goal to demolish it and to build a commercial building. Architects' community had an urgent reaction and due to their efforts, the building was included into the national Register of Cultural Property in 2009, where outstanding architectural characteristics, non-traditional creative approach and the fact, that it represents a rare functional typology were pointed out as the values (Kultūros paveldo departamentas, 2009). Legal status prevented it to be torn down; nevertheless, it was left to devastation as an improvised cable storage for several years (Fig. 4). One of the main reasons given by the owner for not preserving the building was an economic one – high heating cost. Later on, there were changes in ownership and in attempts to reuse it for such functions as residential, administrative or a hospital. These attempts were ineffective for the object that features such a strong synergy between function, architectural expression and intangible characteristics, and these reuse projects were not carried out. It took more than a decade to realize that the building with such a powerful character and integral performance can accommodate nothing else but the ceremonial function for funerals. Meanwhile, the present owner restores the initial use of the building, and the implementation of its extension and renovation up to contemporary funeral house is on the way.

In spite of the attempts, the function was not changed neither in this Funeral Palace, nor in any other socialist funeral building in Lithuania. There are more reasons for irreplaceability of function in this typology besides the specific performance of building design set initially and rising from socialist ideology. The present-day social expectations that are fueled by the perception of these buildings, expanded by the collective memories, associa-

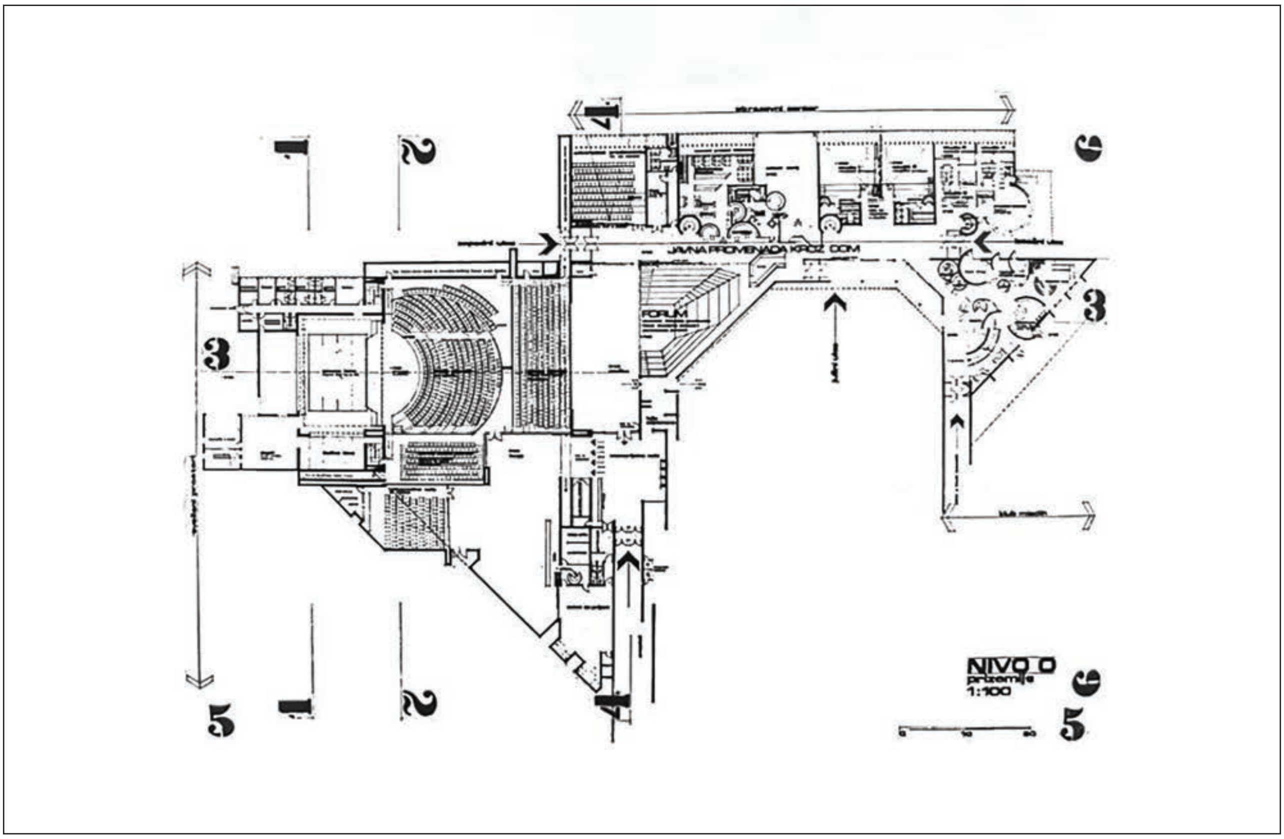


Figure 5: Plan of Home of Revolution in Nikšić, Montenegro (Source: Courtesy of "Arhitektura", No. 158–159, 1976. P. 129; Reproduced with permission from Croatian Architects' Association).

tions and atmosphere inscribed there, saturate heritage values by social dimension. In case a funeral building loses its initial use, a driver that determines what the building is and how society perceives it, the risk emerges that its cultural significance is violated because of exceeding aforementioned "limits of acceptable change" (ICOMOS & ISC20C, 2017).

Museums of Revolution and memorial centers in socialist Yugoslavia

The interlinked functional typologies of Museums of Revolution and memorial centers were developed exclusively for the socialist Yugoslavia. A clear self-awareness of uniqueness of the federation, although deeply contradictory one, was used as an important ingredient in the construction of a new socialist culture (Kulić, 2009). Therefore, the new functional typologies were intended to provide ideological education and utopian vision in order to set up shared values and common goals of Yugoslav peoples and nations.

At mid-1950s, a new functional typology of ideological-historical museum – the Museum of Revolution – was established to represent ideological indoctrination and consumption of memory. It merged functions like an educational establishment, a scientific institution and a memorial to the so-called "*victory of the Yugoslav peoples in fighting for national liberation and effectuation of socialist society*" (Stevanovic, 2017, 148). In the culturally and politically hybrid state, the major objectives of Museum of Revolution were to project political values into the memorial, and, afterwards, to construct and use the memorial values to get Yugoslav peoples together around the idea of brotherhood and unity. The prominence of representative status enabled positioning them as architectural landmarks situated in significant urban locations. Specific volumetric solutions comprise the elevated buildings on the pedestal, detached from the surroundings; floating concrete cubes above the ground floor; a feeling of lightness and openness. The designs of architectural icons achieved clarity, simplicity and delicacy in application of modernist postulates. While the main exhibition spaces are physically deliberated of any ideologically charged symbolical reference, ideological signs are highlighted in artistic inclusions (Stevanovic, 2017; Kulić, 2009).

Later, since mid-1960s, memorial centers, a similar functional typology was developed from Museums of Revolution. It merged functions of a museum (exhibition and memorial), and a cultural (educational, recreational)

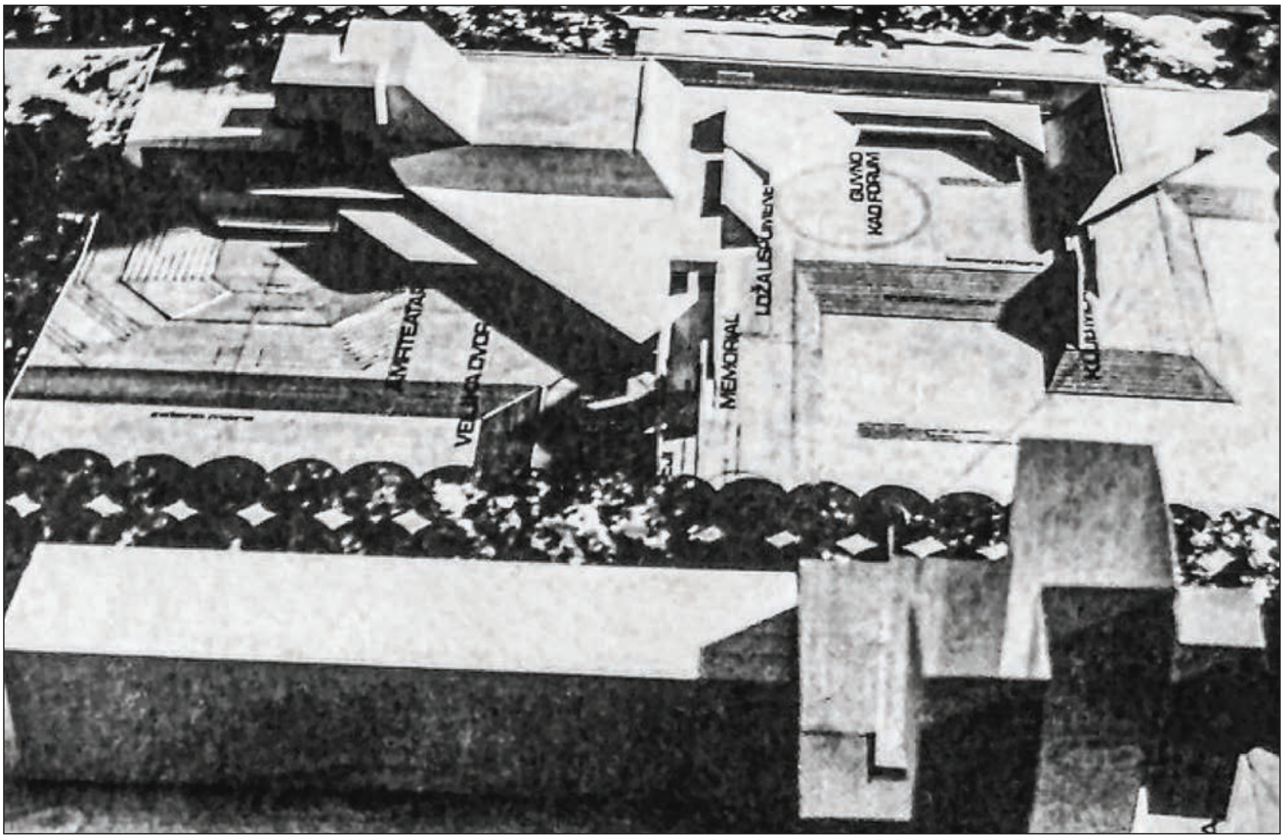


Figure 6: Model photo of Home of Revolution in Nikšić, Montenegro (Source: Courtesy of "Arhitektura", No. 158–159, 1976. P. 129; Reproduced with permission from Croatian Architects' Association).

center according to social necessities of local communities in smaller towns. Memorial centres implemented specific cultural programme where culture was not only an artistic and intellectual product, but also an ideological instrument for spreading socialist ideology among the masses (Stevanovic, 2017). The hybrid function was supposed to reflect values of the socialist state, to present it as the democratic state based on the firm grounds of liberty, and to build the national Yugoslav identity (Konstantinović, 2013). A big number of memorial centres was built in Yugoslav republics with blurring boundaries of functional typology. From architectural point of view, memorial centres were manifestations of outstanding building design and complex flexible organizational scheme appropriate for multiple uses, where volumetric spatial fragmentation emerged from compound functional programme. Memorial centres were developed as composite and diversified structures with specific spatial relationship with the city at large, instead of a singular composition integrated into the urban fabric. Avant-garde late modernist or postmodernist design resulted in dynamic, unusual and vibrant forms, spatial fragmentation, expressiveness, symbolism, and diversity. It enabled particular interior flow, and created dynamic, multi-layered and flexible space, diverse in meanings and references (Stevanovic, 2017).

From ideological point of view, life's continued triumph over death is celebrated. As Todorović argues, the juxtaposition of the contemporary and memorial priorities in new typologies is closely connected to the relationship between state spectacle (parade, performance or other event used to demonstrate the power of the state) and utopia. As the past, the present, and the future is exposed in every utopia, the past is there to remind of the Golden Age that might have never existed but gives the promise of a brighter future under the current reign (Todorović, 2010).

The decline of socialism and the introduction of the market economy and multi-party system in the newly emerged countries, besides many other effects, led to rejection of the bearers of symbolic capital of the former system. The memorial and aesthetic values of such objects were being questioned, challenged and/or denied (Social Fringe & ICOMOS Croatia, 2017, 3–4). As the role of educational institutions created for spreading socialist ideology vanished in post-socialist societies, a part of Museums of Revolution were adapted to updated needs of museums. After the alteration of program, they lost their former cultural significance and exceptional social status, even the ones that are well functioning. Many memorial centers are emptied and face degradation or damage



Figure 7: Degradation of Home of Revolution in Nikšić, Montenegro (Photo: Jelena Mitrović, 2018).

because of incapability to adapt them to present-day cultural needs and economic possibilities. Even buildings declared as cultural heritage continue to be neglected in terms of maintenance and adaptive reuse (Stevanovic, 2017, 375–380).

Home of Revolution (Dom Revolucije) in Nikšić, Montenegro was designed by Slovenian architect Marko Mušič (b. 1941). The competition for this memorial project was held in 1976. The architecture of the building represents the style of late modernism. The existing structure was originally intended to represent the socio-political structure of Nikšić, Montenegro and Yugoslavia itself, by a mega building that was unfinished due to its colossal increase in size and costs. The significance of the representative building for Nikšić city was enhanced by location in the city center, spatial domination over the settled urban structure and urban composition, its enormous size and concentration of social activities.

Functionally the building follows a hybrid program of a memorial center – a new functional typology unique to socialist Yugoslavia. It comprises the cultural facilities (educational and recreational ones, and a youth club) and the memorial to the fallen soldiers. As the author himself explains the functional scheme of this project, the group of educational-occupational contents is strategically located alongside the promenade. At the end of the promenade, the main auditorium is located. It is interconnected both with the youth club and workshop rooms, therefore, it enables the flow of activities throughout the building. The memorial rooms are situated on the opposite side (Fig. 5, 6). By its very character and significance, the group of memorial spaces is the strongest magnet for turning pedestrians into the depth of the complex (Mušič, 1976).

Ideologically, the memorial space – the past – is celebrated. It points to the idea that Home of Revolution is a contemporary cultural center established for the wellbeing of people on the grounds of revolutionary memory. Following utopian program, the memorial function reminds of the glorious past and, in synergy with the contemporary cultural function, offers a bright outlook towards the future. The volumetric composition and spatial arrangement is an agglomerate of fragmented volumes as 'a city within a city' with the very expressive formal outcome that features horizontal and vertical continuity, accented elements, interactive free spaces, visual connections the goal of which is to initiate creativity and diverse social activities (Konstantinović, 2013, 204; Stamatović Vučković, 2012, 167). The architecture delivers the message about the values of democracy, creativity and liberty of the socialist society, a new Yugoslav culture, enabled by revolutionary sacrifices in the past. The connection of the building with the surrounding urban context is realized through the promenade, suggesting that this building and social values it reflects are an integral part of the life of the city.

Home of Revolution was a very ambitious project that was never fully realized (Fig. 7). It started as a 9000 m^2 competition solution, but during building process from 1978 to 1989, it became a giant decaying complex of 24000 m^2 made from concrete, red metal trusses and abundant glazing. The building of such a size would never work in a city like Nikšić. Thus, it became a completely utopian project revealing the distinction between how the state viewed and wanted to present itself, and what were its real abilities. There were various causes why this building was never used and remained degrading for such a long period. The practical reason is obvious – its size that exceeded the needs and the

possibilities of socialist Yugoslavia, even more so of the contemporary Montenegro society. Reasons that are more complex lie in the incapability to adapt program of the whole building to new cultural needs of citizens and thus convert it into socially necessary and economically sustainable institution. Changed geo-political situation, social circumstances, economic possibilities, and negative attitudes brought to the disregard of its operative and cultural potential.

Efforts towards adaptive reuse of the building would focus on searching for a use in the contemporary capitalist state that would benefit from the monumental spatial structure, the ideas of democracy and liberty, and open atmosphere. What are the needs of the society where there is no revolution anymore? A public competition for a design proposal for reconstructing and redesigning the building was organized in 2015. The winning design by HHF Architects and SADAR+VUGA predicted the reconstruction and reprogramming of the building that was treated as an urbanscape rather than a building, and which would serve the city and its residents as a kind of social activator. They suggested to revitalize and settle a permanent social, commercial or educational function only in 10% of the building; the other part of the building would be secured and partly renovated (HHF Architects, n.d.). However, the competition design has not been implemented. The latest processes that take place in Home of Revolution are controversial. City initiatives started to crumble the building into small parceled pieces, some of them intended to be demolished, some – to be rented to local enterprises and renovated, regrettably, in a disconnected way. No overarching concept and strategy for adaptive reuse for the whole building is developed, at least how to avoid discrediting the cultural significance of existing architecture. The manifestation of original concept of the outstanding architectural object with a leading role to concentrate civic activities, to consolidate people and to contribute to their wellbeing is vanishing. Along with operational effectiveness, social and cultural potential of the building as all-encompassing medium is disappearing. The complex functional programme is breaking into self-sufficient fragments. Consequently, amplified secondary function of the representative of new typology, which was fulfilled through communication of paramount role, ideological meanings and democratic open atmosphere, is evolving to a source of collective memories and associations about bygone utopian ambitions in arts and culture of socialist Yugoslavia.

CONCLUSIONS

Adaptive reuse of socialist modernism architecture is a big challenge as it is neither universal nor flexible. Adaptive reuse of buildings of new socialist typologies is even more controversial for complex reasons. The ideological narrative embodied in architecture remains like ghost from the past. It is still present in architecture, communicated through meanings, associations, and atmosphere, although the reasons for such an architecture are gone, intentions are outdated, and geo-political, social and economic circumstances have changed. Ideology and enormous ambitions of socialist regime resulted in monumental and surreal pieces of architecture. At present, these expressive manifestations tackle rational priorities and pragmatism of contemporary capitalist mentality.

The values of architecture of a new socialist typology rest in its experimental nature and pioneering program, that flourish in a particular synergy of extraordinary designs, elaborated function and are expressed by abundant meanings and raw poetics. In order to preserve cultural significance of such a building, the complex interrelation between its material substance and its intangible elements like use, symbolic connotations, and atmosphere, which all together are predetermined by initial program and perceived by contemporary society that attributes meanings and values from today's perspective, should be considered. The "limits of acceptable change" that *Madrid – New Delhi Document* points to, should be questioned through this complex interaction in order to achieve successful results, in line with cultural significance and social role of such an architecture.

When contemporary society acknowledges cultural significance of a building of a new socialist functional typology, the possible scenarios for its adaptive reuse should be considered very carefully. Immaterial content like its use and its reflection in intangible dimensions lie in the core of this architecture. Acceptable tolerance of change of use should be critically acknowledged (like the case of Funeral Palace "Sorrow" proved to have a very narrow range of the tolerance for reuse). In adaptive reuse of buildings with contradictory connotations, original program should work as a generator to memorize, interpret, and manifest the original function through integrating traces of usage into redevelopments and creating the highlighted dialogue between the past and future. Thorough and respectful comprehension of a building, reading its site-specific narratives and tracing the collective memories enable reactivation of its cultural, social and operational potential and preservation of its meaningful history and symbolic power. Such manifestation of original use and social role would add vigour, multiplicity and exceptional qualities to a transformed object, which accordingly stand out a new build architecture. If the balance between original and new function is not equilibrated or the initial integrity breaks into pieces (like in the case of Museum of Revolution), the significant part of its core values are lost, and the building becomes an 'empty shell' accommodating random activities.

IZZIVI ADAPTIVNE PONOVNE UPORABE V NOVIH FUNKCIONALNIH TIPOLOGIJAH SOCIALISTIČNE MODERNISTIČNE ARHITEKTURE: NEMATERIALNE DIMENZIJE

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POVZETEK

Prispevek preučuje razloge za težave pri iskanju učinkovite sheme adaptivne ponovne uporabe zapuščenih stavb socialističnega modernizma, ki predstavljajo nove funkcionalne tipologije, ki so bile vzpostavljene za novonastajajoče namene, ki jih je narekoval pretekli socialistični režim. Prispevek se poglablja v nematerialne vidike, s katerimi se spoprijema adaptivna ponovna uporaba: ideologija modernizma in socializma, razumevanje arhitekturnih objektov in danes pripisani kulturni pomen, ob upoštevanju razlik v političnem, sociokulturnem in ekonomskem kontekstu časa gradnje in sedanjega časa. Nove arhitekturne tipologije: Obravnavane so pogrebne palače v sovjetski Litvi in muzeji revolucije ter spominski centri v socialistični Jugoslaviji, podrobneje pa sta obravnavana Pogrebna palača "Žalost" v Kaunasu v Litvi in Dom revolucije v Nikšiću v Črni gori.

Vrednote arhitekture nove socialistične tipologije tičijo v njeni eksperimentalni naravi in pionirskem programu, ki cvetita v določeni sinergiji izjemnega oblikovanja, dodelane funkcije in pomenljive vsebine. Kompleksno povezavo med materialno substanco in nematerialnimi elementi, ki so jedro te arhitekture, je treba obravnavati v mejah sprejemljivih sprememb. Ponovna aktivacija kulturnega, družbenega in operativnega potenciala ter prikaz prvotne rabe in družbene vloge, ob hkratnem ohranjanju pomenljivih pripovedi, bi povečali arhitekturno raznovrstnost in dopolnili kulturni pomen.

Ključne besede: arhitekturna dediščina dvajsetega stoletja, socialistična arhitektura, nova arhitekturna tipologija, adaptivna ponovna uporaba, pogrebna palača, Dom revolucije

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MODULAR BUILDINGS AND THE ARCHITECTURAL EXPERIENCE OF THE END-USER – A SCIENTIFIC REVIEW

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to reveal recent trends in the development of modular buildings, using the knowledge of experience in architecture. The first part of the paper provides an overview regarding recent scientific developments in modular design and construction, accompanied by a historical overview that outlines the specific features of modular construction. The second part outlines the issue of architectural experience through the perception of architecture and the enactive approach. The intersection of neuroscience and architecture is outlined as one of the emerging fields in this subject matter. Example case studies of modular design are presented, and a basic assessment of potentials for their architectural experience is given.

Keywords: modular building, modular approach, architectural experience, enactive approach, perception, end-user experience

EDIFICI MODULARI E L'ESPERIENZA ARCHITETTONICA DELL'UTENTE FINALE – UNA REVISIONE SCIENTIFICA

SINTESI

Lo scopo di questo articolo scientifico è quello di rivelare le recenti tendenze nello sviluppo di edifici modulari utilizzando la conoscenza dell'esperienza in architettura. La prima parte del documento fornisce una panoramica sui recenti sviluppi scientifici nella progettazione e costruzione modulare, accompagnata da una panoramica storica che delinea le caratteristiche specifiche della costruzione modulare. La seconda parte del documento delinea la questione dell'esperienza architettonica attraverso la percezione dell'architettura. L'intersezione tra neuroscienza e architettura è delineata come uno dei campi emergenti in questo argomento. Vengono presentati casi di studio di esempio di progettazione modulare e viene fornita una valutazione di base dei potenziali per la loro esperienza architettonica.

Parole chiave: costruzione modulare, approccio modulare, esperienza architettonica, percezione, esperienza dell'utente finale

INTRODUC TION

In recent decades modular construction has become a global trend (Li et al., 2014; Boafo et al., 2016). With an ever-increasing number of building projects worldwide, modular construction directly influences architecture and challenges architects to explore this revived phenomenon of design and construction through contemporary analysis.

This paper aims to reveal recent trends in the development of modular buildings using the knowledge of experience in architecture. In order to achieve this goal, it is necessary to explore two independent focal points: the modular building on the one hand and the architectural experience on the other. When these focal points are established and well-structured, they can be united in an independent field where it is possible to recognise the potential for the further development of a modular building to create higher architectural values. This setting can be used for further scientific research and development.

What makes modular building specific? Simplicity. Modular buildings are constructed from dimensionally standardised and repetitive elements that are generally fabricated off-site. They represent the final result of modular design and modular construction. Modular construction, as a principle, responds with simplicity to the different demands of users, individual or collective, market or artistic, research or conventional. As such, it is a field of interest for architects, engineers, designers, industrialists, economists and sociologists.

Since mostly modular elements and units are assembled at the construction site, the logic of its architectural design and production differs from conventional buildings. At its core, modular construction is an automated industrial and technological process that aims to raise productivity, reduce costs while also increasing safety and efficiency in the construction sector. As an architectural concept, it represents a simple method in terms of performance, but the process of designing and producing a modular building is complex. Along with the development of modular construction as a way of creating buildings, after a certain period of architectural production, architects realise that the dominance of the visual aspect, the established norms regarding functional, technical and formal characteristics, make the end-user a passive actor in architecture. This changes the discourse of the role of the user in the design of architecture from a passive to an active actor, creating an architectural experience. In accordance with this change of discourse, the question arises of how modular construction can embrace such a change and what the architectural experience in a modular building is/will be.

Therefore, this paper also investigates the process of designing modular buildings to find links/possibilities between architectural experience in such buildings. The implementation of new insights in the field of neuroarchitecture can bring new methods in the process of design and construction of modular buildings, by which the end-user would have the final benefit in the spatial experience.

In the first part of the paper, an overview of the anatomy of modular design and construction is given, based on a review of recent scientific literature, followed by a historical overview that outlines the specific features of modular construction, which makes it uniquely different from conventional construction methods. The first part concludes with some contemporary definitions that are specific to the modular approach in architecture.

In the second part, the paper outlines the issue of architectural experience through the perception of architecture and the enactive approach. The intersection of neuroscience and architecture is also presented as one of the emerging fields in this subject matter. Some recent examples of modular design are presented as case studies, and a basic assessment of potentials for their architectural experience is given.

The paper concludes with a discussion regarding modular buildings and architectural experience and establishing a proper relationship between users/human beings and space. Based on this discussion, some potential directions for future research are given.

MODULAR DESIGN AND CONSTRUCTION

Anatomy of modular design and construction

Digitalisation and advancements in new materials and construction technology play an important role in the generation of modular buildings. In order to better understand this notion, it is necessary to thoroughly analyse the process of modular design and construction, which differs significantly from conventional or traditional construction methods. This forms the basis for establishing the thesis that a modular building has a specific way of its materialisation in a 'product' of the modular approach, as well as because of its features, application, and achievements in the field of architecture.

Modular design in architecture aims to develop prefabricated construction products or entire buildings made of physically detachable units for rapid product development, ease of assembly, services, reuse, recycling and other product life cycle objectives. Almost all contemporary design

Table 1: State-of-the-art research topics in modular design and construction.

Research topic	Subtopic / Category	References
Industry prospect	Realising lean construction through off-site manufacturing	Bertelsen, 2004; Höök & Stehn, 2008; Marhani *et al.*, 2013
Development and application	Opportunities and constraints of off-site construction	Goodier & Gibb, 2007; Schoenborn, 2016; Velamati, 2012
Performance evaluation	Surveying the perspective of housebuilders on off-site construction trends	Pan *et al.*, 2007; Li *et al.*, 2014
Environment for technology application	Policymaking	Park *et al.*, 2011; Hwang *et al.*, 2018
Design, production transport and assembly	Design solutions	Delfani *et al.*, 2016; Gonzalo *et al.*, 2019
	Software implementation potential	Cerovšek *et al.*, 2010; Abanda *et al.*, 2017; Berčič *et al.*, 2018; Niu *et al.*, 2019; An *et al.*, 2020
	Future perspectives	Blismas, 2007; Nadim and Goulding, 2010; Hong *et al.*, 2018; Verovšek *et al.*, 2018

and construction forms integrate prefabrication to some degree – from a single prefabricated window system to an intricate prefabricated building module (Boafo et al., 2016).

Modular systems include components and modules (units) that are based on a modular design. They are prefabricated in an off-site manufacturing plant and are produced under controlled conditions using the same materials and designed to the same codes and standards as conventionally built facilities (MBI, 2020).

Modular construction refers to creating modular buildings for which modular systems or individual elements are transported from their production facilities and assembled on-site to form an entire building. Modular buildings reflect identical design intent and specifications as site-built buildings. They represent various typologies of the building stock, meaning residential buildings, hotels, schools, hospitals, offices, student residences, and other types of buildings where repetitive units are preferred (Ferdous et al., 2019; Fathieh & Mercan, 2016; Fifield et al., 2018).

Even though the design and construction of modular buildings or their components are widely present, there is generally no uniform definition of modular design or modularity in scientific literature, although various sources share a common principle. That principle is based on a '*simple design approach that considers a system as a whole and separates it into smaller parts which can be either independent or interconnected according to usage. In terms of the scale of design, individual units may consist of simple geometrical shapes like a square, a rectangle, a triangle, a circle and etc.*' (Kubat & Kürkcüoglu, 2016). Moreover, several technical terms (e.g., prefabrication, pre-assembly, off-site fabrication, modularisation) are used to describe a modular process in which structural components are either manufactured at the plant and assembled at the construction site made on site (in-situ).

Innovation in most sectors is predominantly diffused through three central themes of People, Process, and Technology (Davenport, 1993); this is also true for the case of modular design and construction. This complex subject is covered by a wide range of research topics and subtopics. In their review paper, Li et al. (2014) identified five research topics, covering the state-of-the-art research of management in prefabricated construction. In Table 1, the research topics by Li et al. (2014) are presented and expanded into subtopics based on the categorisation of Boafo et al. (2016), who categorised the recent research focus in modular prefabricated architecture in seven categories. Some recent relevant scientific references regarding each specified category are also given. It is interesting to note that none of these research topics focus on the end-user and his spatial or architectural experience.

Furthermore, in 2013 The International Council for Research and Innovation in Building and Construction (CIB) issued an overview of the off-site manufacturing market and discussed the key requirements for successful adoption and uptake (Goulding & Arif, 2013). It presents findings from a three-year study, leading to the development of a Prioritised Off-site Production and Manufacturing Research Roadmap, which is briefly summarised in Figure 1.

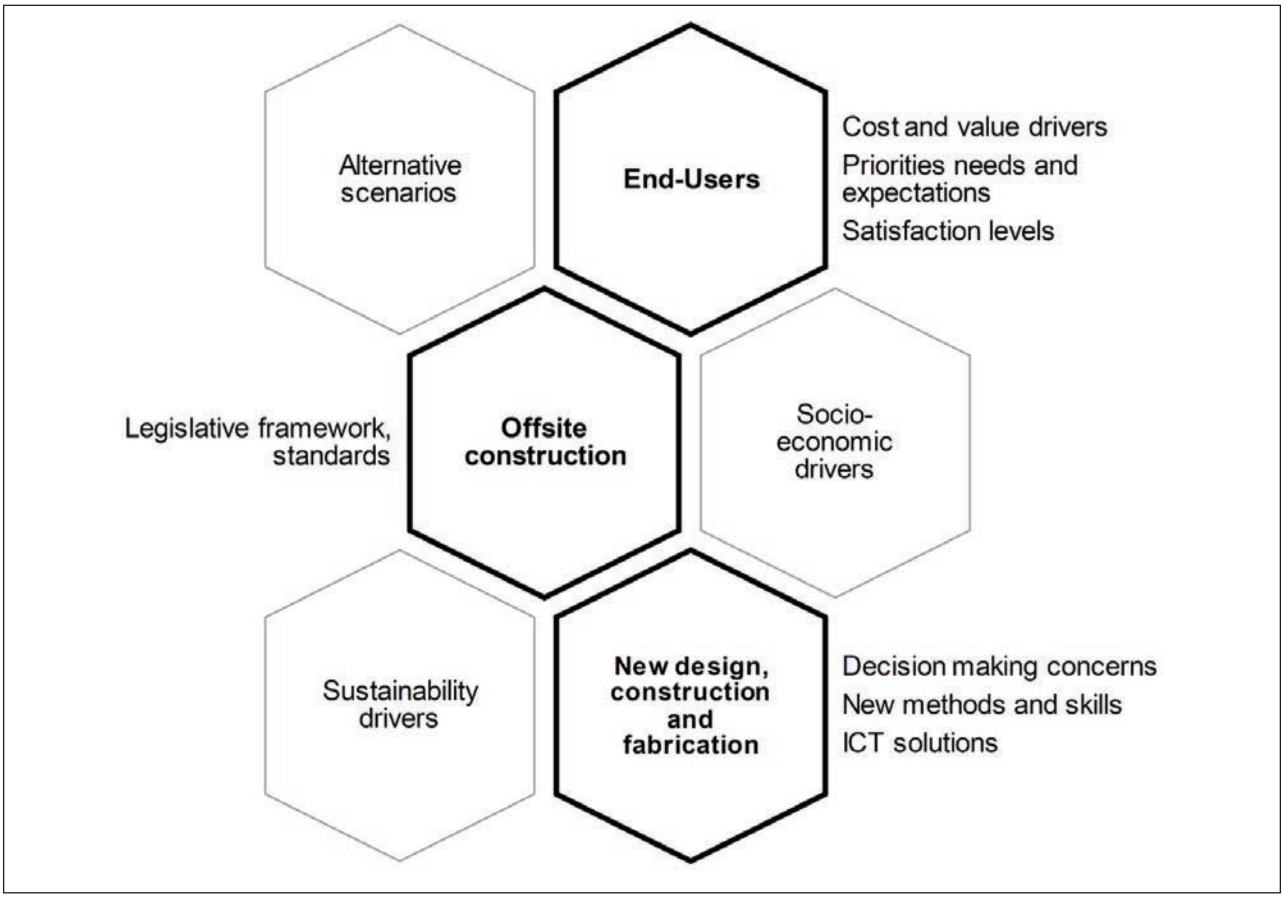


Figure 1: Future research agenda based on Goulding & Arif (2013).

The authors indicate that there is a reluctance by end-user groups to promote and advance more efficient processes in the off-site construction industry. Therefore, a lack in the assessment of the end-user experience and satisfaction levels may be discussed.

Historic overview

Modular construction focuses on a variety of building elements across different historical periods and geographical regions. It can focus on technology, procedures, theories and processes of constructing, the contexts, the structures, and conditions of production associated with a building, all of which have been identified as being of central importance (Meyer & Hassler, 2009).

Historically speaking, modular construction first began to appear in the 17th century, specifically in 1624, when houses were prepared in England and sent to the fishing village of Cape Ann, in what is now a city in Massachusetts, USA (Smith, 2009; Boafo et al., 2016; O'Neill & Organ, 2016). Although some researchers, such as Agkathidis (2009), identify its origins much earlier when Mesopotamian, Egyptian and Greek houses and temples were constructed by handmade mass-manufactured units, comprising of 'quasi identical' mud-bricks and stone building blocks.

Smith (2009) describes how prefabricated dwellings were made and delivered to Australia later in the late 1700s and early 1800s. They were timber framework structures, with either timber panel infill or lighter timber infill system or canvas with weatherboarding. Various types of buildings were constructed in this manner.

During the Industrial Revolution, improvements in transportation brought forth the movement of standardised and prefabricated materials. The effect of the Industrial Revolution on construction was significant, and this is also evident in the growth of prefabrication (O'Neill & Organ, 2016). With the introduction of industrialisation, the brick had been the material to be first standardised. The innovation associated with Industrial Revolution possessed an effect that is significant for housing construction. Staib et al. (2013) discuss that the origin of modular housing production dates to the first half of the 19th century. In 1820, the first prefabricated housing was delivered to Southern





Figure 2: Modular construction of the residential neighbourhood Fužine from the 1980s in Slovenia, consisting of prefabricated sections of the façade, prefabricated wall panels and interior partitions (Photo: Simon Petrovčič, 2020).

Africa. These were basic cottage houses that were assembled on-site and did not include as many modular features as modern fabricated housing (Smith, 2009).

One of the most extensive examples of prefabrication is Britain's Great Exhibition of 1851, featuring a building called the Crystal Palace. Designed by Sir Joseph Paxton in less than two weeks, the building used light and cheap materials: iron, wood, and glass. The construction period lasted only a few months and consisted of assembling the prefabricated components. The palace was taken apart, piece by piece, and moved to another location after the exhibition (Slivnik, 2004).

At the beginning of the 20th century, technology played a decisive role in innovation in architecture. After World War One, traditional building materials were in short supply. O'Neill & Organ (2016) report that in the 1920s, manufacturing capacity, specifically pre-casting technology, was widely used to provide housing. In that period, prefabricated systems comprised two categories: the first utilised steel, timber, and large component pre-cast concrete; the second comprised small scale on-site pre-cast and in-situ concrete systems.

In the Weimar Republic, affordable housing was scarce. The government involved the public sector in overcoming this shortage. The general notion was to provide affordable housing under the premise of 'light, air and sun' for a large share of the population. The construction of the Dessau-Törten Housing Estate was thus commissioned by the city of Dessau in the framework of the *Reichsheimstättengesetz* (Homestead Act). The estate was conceived by the Bauhaus as a solution for cost-effective mass housing (Bauhaus Dessau Foundation, 2020).

Diverse housing typologies were included in the estate; as a part of a trial, the German Reich society for economic efficiency in building and housing wished to study the rational manufacture of residential housing as well as the suitability of new building materials and industrial products. Therefore, following the industrial principles, the building site was organised like an industrial production line. Several houses were built simultaneously during one construction phase by specialised labour brigades. Building components, such as the pre-cast concrete joists (so-called 'Rapidbalken'), were made on-site and transported with a small wagon and by crane (Bauhaus Dessau Foundation, 2020).

After the Second World War, numerous technological innovations were evolving in prefabricated housing. Technological innovations are described by Smith (2009) as a reflection of socio-cultural innovation. Prefabricated housing after Second World War was influenced by multiple factors. For instance, in the mid-1950s, mobile homes, built as a module on a chassis in a factory, accounted for 25% of all single-family houses in the United States (Boafo et al., 2016). Moreover, several prefabricated building systems, such as prefabricated beams, slabs, facade units, and vertical structural components, were extensively developed in Eastern and Western Europe to satisfy the massive demand for housing reconstruction after the war (Li et al., 2014).

In the 1950s and 1960s, a shift towards industrialised buildings within the construction industry was observed (O'Neill & Organ, 2016). The philosophies of the Bauhaus movement brought forth modernisation and non-traditional methods that contributed to a 'factory manufacturing methodology', particularly in social housing (Hayes, 1999).

Table 2: Technical terms describing the modular approach based on CII classification.

Term	Definition
Prefabrication	A manufacturing process, generally taking place at a specialised facility, in which various materials are joined to form a component part of a final installation. Prefabricated components often involve the work of a single craft.
Preassembly	A process by which various materials, prefabricated components, and/or equipment are joined together at a remote location for subsequent installation as a sub-unit; generally focused on a system.
Off-site fabrication	The practice of pre-assembly or fabrication of components both off-site and on-site at a location other than the final installation location.
Module	A major section of a plant resulting from a series of remote assembly operations and may include portions of many systems, usually the largest transportable unit or component of a facility.

Table 3: Terms describing the degrees of off-site construction.

Term	Definition
Component manufacture and sub-assembly	The traditional approach in construction. Raw materials and components are used to build on-site.
Non-volumetric pre-assembly	In this concept, ‘two-dimensional’ elements are prefabricated off-site and assembled on-site.
Volumetric pre-assembly	Volumes of specific parts in the building are produced off-site and assembled on-site within an independent structural frame.
Modular building	In this concept, much of the production is carried out off-site, with modules fabricated to a high level of completion. The only work performed on-site is the assembly of the modules and finishing operations.

Throughout the 1970s, volumetric construction was used, employing prefabricated construction in the form of frames (timber or steel) or concrete ‘boxes’, while several volumetric construction systems were used into the late 1970s and early 1980s (Figure 2), and in the mid-1980s many countries began to introduce prefabrication along with standard modular designs in public housing projects (O’Neill & Organ, 2016).

In general, post-Second World War prefabricated housing, which deviates from the traditional norms in terms of appearance and construction methods, faced resistance and suspicion from the public relating to innovations in the construction industry (O’Neill & Organ, 2016). From the 1990s until today, this began to dwindle since the negative attitudes were based broadly on the quality of the building materials and the poor workmanship of this form of construction.

Furthermore, until the 1990s, numerical modelling and simulations were restricted to those who could afford them. Nowadays, small manufacturers and fabricators use Building Information Modelling (BIM) tools, Computer Numeric Control (CNC), and 2-D laser cutting devices (Boafo et al., 2016), which allows for a much higher degree of production quality. It also greatly reduces the times and costs of fabrication and erection.

In general, modular construction allowed mass production of modular buildings after the process of its design and fabrication was standardised. The main principle is based on the reproduction of homogeneous, identical modules produced by existing technology. However, the wide deployment of prefabricated buildings is nowadays limited mainly due to restrictions of production approaches: the high cost of ad-hoc fully customised prefabricated buildings, and the lack of customer appreciation of low-cost, mass-produced prefabricated buildings (Marchesi & Ferrarato, 2015).

The modular approach

The modular approach is a complex system consisting of design, development, production and construction phases. This process can be further divided into smaller groups such as pre-design, design, development, detailing, ordering, fabrication,

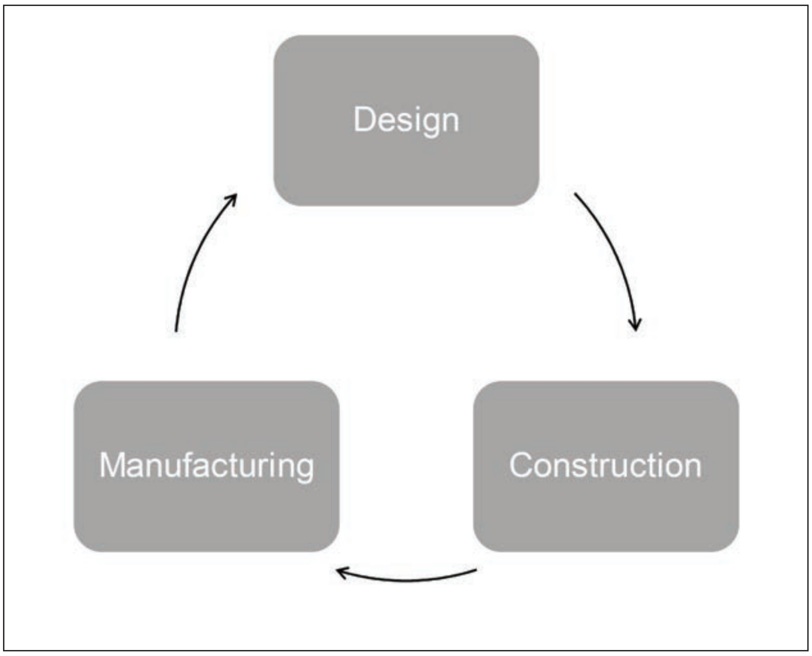


Figure 3: Core Interrelated Areas as proposed by Goulding & Arif (2013).

delivery, and assembly (AIA, 2018). In the authors' view, these areas should be explored further to clearly define the parameters and factors that influence modular building creation.

Several technical terms (i.e., prefabrication, pre-assembly, off-site construction, modularisation) describe the modular approach. In his PhD thesis, Bekdik (2017) uses terms from the classification of the Construction Industry Institute (CII, 2002) that are presented in Table 1, while an additional classification that identifies four degrees of off-site construction is also suggested (Table 2).

In an article published by the American Institute of Architects and National Institute of Building Science (AIA, 2018), the abovementioned classification is not considered. This article instead describes structural elements of modular buildings prefabricated off-site as non-volumetric components or volumetric units. The non-volumetric modular construction is defined as the off-site prefabrication of building elements that are then connected once on-site. These include structural elements, such as frames, beams and columns; sections of building façade and cladding; wall panels and interior partitions; floor cassettes and planks; roof trusses. As an example of volumetric units, the authors specify multiunit residential buildings, such as apartment buildings, hotels, and dormitories.

The core themes that are considered pivotal for developing the modular approach are three dominant paradigms that drive modular design and construction, along with their intertwined relationships (Figure 3).

ARCHITECTURAL EXPERIENCE

Perception of architecture and enactive approach

Architectural experience is a complex, delicate, and subtle issue with no clear scientific background; in many cases, it is a philosophical issue. The level of understanding of architecture primarily starts from visual perception. This requires the engagement of the sense of sight as the sole preceptor in the interactions between the observer and the environment. Since the human experience can be diverse, this also indicates that the human perception of architecture should be richer. As time passes in our experience of the environment, we create patterns and habits that fill our attention. We have also learned to choose only those aspects that we can understand or have previously experienced. The following question comes to mind. What would be our architectural experience if we were aware of all the human abilities that create it? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to explain what architectural or perceptual experience is and what influences the cognitive experience between human beings and the environment.

Since the phenomenon of architectural experience has no precise or scientific definition, there is a need to use knowledge from other disciplines to establish this corpus. Architecture is made up of many elements that can stand in different relationships and still belong to it. These are the thoughts, emotions, intentions, needs, imagination, decisions, and actions that form the stages in the formation of architecture. Moreover, a human

being interacts with his whole being and senses with architecture, creating certain moods, states, feelings, and physical and mental adjustments that then lead to the architectural experience.

In the context of analysing modular buildings, this principle would be based on modern theory, education, and practice through which the visual aesthetic value of the created spaces, its materiality, were perceived. The principle would also extend to its historical development, functional, technical, and formal characteristics. In conjunction with the aforementioned notions, this means that this type of analysis treats architecture as a physical object and space based on geometric and compositional qualities without essence.

In the chapter The poetic and phenomenological approach of his Architecture as Experience, Juhani Pallasmaa (2018, 10) writes:

> *On the other hand, the phenomenon of architecture has also been approached through subjective and personal encounters in a poetic, aphoristic and essayistic manner, as in the writings of many of the leading architects from Frank Lloyd Wright to Alvar Aalto, and Louis Kahn to Steven Holl and Peter Zumthor. In these writings, architecture is approached in a poetic, philosophical and metaphorical manner, without any qualifications as scientific research. These writings usually arise from personal experiences, observations and beliefs* […] *The experiential and existential core of architecture has to be encountered, lived and felt rather than understood and analysed intellectually. There are surely numerous aspects in construction, in its performance, structural essence as well as formal and dimensional properties that can be studied "scientifically", but the experiential and mental meaning of the entity can only be existentially encountered and experienced.*

This attitude does not encourage the establishment of an architectural experience. One reason is the complexity of the experience issue accompanied by the architect's lack of interest in approaching the problem in a scientific way. The problem can be recognised in the dual nature of architecture: artistic and scientific. There are reasons why certain phenomena have not been interpreted in a scientific way when they can be evoked or manifested in an artistic way. One reason for this attitude among architects about this theme can be explained by their dominant field of interest in expression through form and formal structures. In the same article, Juhani Pallasmaa (2018, 15) argues that a new approach in the architectural experience shifts 'research from form and formal structures to emotive and dynamic experiences and mental processes. It is evident that when the focus shifts from the physical reality and form to the mental reality and emotion, also the methodology of the study is bound to change'.

To achieve the goal of optimal architectural experience in modular building, it is necessary to establish a proper relationship between users/human beings and space. In this case, a methodology based on the physical features of the form and space, its materiality, functional and technical characteristics will be replaced by an approach in which the human being is an architectural subject that experiences architecture. People gain experience with the environment through the body; therefore, many architects assert that the body measures architectural quality.

The user/human-space relationship is a two-way one. As architecture is the embodiment of human activity, architectural spaces affect human well-being in all aspects. As a result of certain views in architecture in which the human being has been reduced to a position of a disembodied architectural observer, due to the pronounced dominance of visual aspect and intellectualisation in design, researchers have begun to change that discourse and place a human being in a user-centred design. Some researchers in that context use an enactive approach (Di Paolo, 2017), which emphasises the nature of perceptual experience. The perceptual experience is a manifestation of people's engagement with the architectural environment through relational embedding between the user and artificial space (Jelić et al., 2016; Jäger, 2017; Afshary et al., 2018; Gračanin et al., 2018). As the authors argue in their work 'The Enactive Approach to Architectural Experience: A Neurophysiological Perspective on Embodiment, Motivation, and Affordance' (Jelić et al., 2016): '*the way in which we perceive, experience, and engage with architecture depends on the particular kind of body we have and the possibilities for body-environment interactions that are inscribed in terms of the motor or skilful knowledge as potential for action*' (p. 3). For phenomenologists such as Merleau-Ponti (1964, 3), '*the body is our general medium for the existence of the world*' through which we experience the environment. Therefore, for the followers of enactivism, it is necessary to consider the nature of perception and the related phenomenological conception of the living body.

Neuroscience in architecture and other insights

An emerging field called the 'neuroscience of architecture' promises an empirical platform from which to study experiential dimensions of architecture that have been largely overlooked in modern

building science. In this field, the intersection of neuroscience and architecture is studied (Sternberg & Wilson, 2006; Eberhard, 2009; Coburn & Chatterjee, 2017). Another active new field is called 'neuroarchitecture', which uses neuroscientific tools to understand architectural design and its impact on human perception and subjective experience better (Ruiz Arellano, 2015; Karakas & Yildiz, 2020; Chiamulera et al., 2017). The form or shape of the built environment is fundamental to architectural design, but not many studies have shown the impact of different forms on the inhabitants' emotions.

In the past, architectural studies were based on philosophical constructs or analysis of behavioural patterns to relate human responses to the design under investigation. While such approaches provide descriptive evidence, they cannot specify the reasons for different behaviours in built environments. Recently, progress in neuroscientific methods has made it possible to investigate how different architectural styles can influence human perception and affective states. Neuroarchitecture studies the effects of the built environment on its inhabitants by using neuroscientific tools (Banaei et al., 2017). Neuroarchitecture studies have been attempting to close the gap between architecture and psychology by describing some of the underlying mechanisms that explain how differences in architectural features cause behavioural outcomes (Vartanian et al., 2013).

EXAMPLE CASE STUDIES

Modular building, as a principle of design and construction in recent years, provides architectural answers to diverse requirements from industrial, social, design, and professional fields. In architecture, it is proving to be an adaptable, changeable, transformable, and economically observable method that finds its realisation in reconstructions, upgrades, extensions, independent realisations or in combination with other models of construction as a technical, engineering, market or experimental response to different demands. Furthermore, merely as a principle, it is applicable to different typologies of architectural objects and, as a realised object, represents architectural structures with specific features.

Currently, this industry has focused on specific market segments and on low-to mid-rise buildings and is not readily able to produce a wide range of project types and sizes (AIA, 2018). Even though some buildings have been successfully designed and constructed as modular buildings (e.g., Conservatory in Montreuil, France, by Claude Le Goas and Robert Bezou, Kisho Kurokawa's Nakagin Capsule Tower in Tokyo, Habitat 67, by Moshe Safdie), some architects claim that this principle limits their design or restricts their control (AIA, 2018). That is why architecture lacks successful buildings accomplished through this method.



Figure 4: House NA in Japan by Sou Fujimoto (Liotta, 2017).

The first presented example is called The House NA, designed by Sou Fujimoto. It is an 84 m^2 modular home designed for a young couple and stands out because of its transparency. Associated with the concept of living on branches of a tree, the interior is made up of 21 platforms located at different heights: this satisfies the desire of customers to live as nomads within their own home, as they can move from platform to platform. Described as 'a unit of separation and coherence', the house is both a single room and a collection of open rooms where separation is not given by the walls but rather by the distance between the spaces (Liotta, 2017).

An increasingly popular modular element in contemporary modular design is the use of the shipping container (Vijayalaxmi, 2010; Taylor, 2016; Sun et al., 2017; Elrayies, 2017). Shipping container architecture presents a milestone since it eliminates the need for conventional construction methods, which are a major source of CO2 emissions.

The Cancer Centre Amsterdam is part of the Antony van Leeuwenhoek Hospital in the Netherlands and is one such example. The existing centre needed to be rebuilt and enlarged on its existing site. The extension is conceived as a series of containers on a small site. A temporary institute was to be erected during the construction activities. This structure was installed in a few weeks and can be removed and shipped to a new location in a similar amount of time (MVRDV, 2005).

Another similar example is a coffeehouse in Taiwan designed by Kengo Kuma. The structure consists of 29 used shipping containers stacked together to create a two-storey geometric space (Figure 6). The stacking of the shipping containers creates a tall space that provides natural sunlight through the various skylights found throughout the structure (Starbucks Corporation, 2018).

Another interesting example of modular design is the project by Bjarke Ingels Group (BIG), which recently designed a 66-unit affordable housing development in Copenhagen made from stacked prefabricated modules (Bellini and Arcieri, 2020). The modular prefabricated building incorporates the use of simple wood and concrete building materials both inside and out, which lowered the construction costs. The Dortheavej Residence, located in the neighbourhood of Dortheavej in north-western Copenhagen, was commissioned by Danish non-profit affordable housing association Lejerbo as part of the 'Homes for All' mission.

In November 2019, the French architect Sophie Delhay and her office received the *Ekuerre d´Argent*, the most important architectural award in France, in the category of residential buildings for Grand Dijon Habitat (Figure 8), which was produced as a modular building (Hespel, 2020).



Figure 5: Cancer Centre Amsterdam (MVRDV, 2005).



Figure 6: Container coffeehouse in Taiwan by Kengo Kuma (Starbucks Corporation, 2018).



Figure 7: The Dortheavej Residence in Copenhagen by Bjarke Ingels Group (ArchDaily, 2020).



Figure 8: Grand Dijon Habitat, Sophie Delhay architecte (Photos: Betrand Verney, 2019).

It is important to point out that this example does not represent modular design as defined in Section 2 of this paper. The presented building is not a prefabricated volumetric building but was rather generated in-situ. The presented example reflects a different type of modularity, which is modularity in the architectural sense. The building consists of one typical unit, i.e., a 3.60×3.60 metres square shape module, which can be considered a modular building from an architectural (design) point of view.

The implementation of architectural experience requires set boundaries for the modular approach. In the scope of this study, a preliminary assessment of the presented case studies in terms of potentials for the end-user architectural experience is given. The following principles of neuroscience and architecture, which are likely to enhance the creativity, cognition, and comfort of those occupying or working in such spaces, are adopted (Sternberg & Wilson, 2006):

- **Space versus place:** a sense of place within an environment is defined by its topology, indicating how locations are connected through exploration or movement and not simply by the configuration of the space itself (the topography of the environment). This emphasises the benefit of architectural design, which is reflected in the functionality of a space (topological characteristics), such as movement and usage patterns, and aesthetic elements (topographic characteristics), such as physical layout and form. The internal representation of a place is strongly influenced by how an individual moves within it, with different places connected based upon the ability to move between them.
- **Orientation and place:** a sense of place is usually enforced by visual landmarks, which contribute to determining the location and orientation of individuals within an environment. They provide a global reference frame to track the direction a user is facing within an environment.
- **Memorable places:** A strong sense of place can be strengthened by providing prominent local cues in the form of local decorations (e.g., pictures, objects, distinct colours, textures, etc.) that may establish uniquely memorable routes. Therefore, by planning the routes that will take the users moving within an environment, architects can incorporate design elements that allow these paths to be more readily navigated and remembered.
- **Physical environment and the stress response:** In some cases, the features of the physical environment can trigger a physiological stress response. Examples of such triggers in the physical space include crowding, sudden loud noise, bright lights, multiple choices, lack of landmarks, and new environments.

For each of these principles, the examined case studies are assessed based on their potential for the end-user architectural experience. A mark of '3' indicates a strong potential for a selected principle, while a mark of '1' indicates that this potential is weak. A mark of '2' indicates an intermediate potential for architectural experience. The given assessment values are presented in Figure 9. It can be seen from the table that memorable places have the largest potential for all of the examined cases, while the House NA exhibits the highest potential for architectural experience. Due to its unique and innovative design, a user may experience all four potentials to a great extent. In the other four examined case study examples, the user may experience two principles based on the conducted evaluation. It should be emphasised that this simple evaluation presented herein only identifies the individual potential, but it is up to the user to experience it or not. Moreover, the assessment values were given based on the authors' interpretation of the publicly available data of the selected case study examples.

DISCUSSION

Recent advances in structural engineering and in the development of new building materials led to the construction of taller and safer buildings than ever before. In Western architectural practice, this trend also triggered a philosophical shift towards the concept of buildings as machines (Coburn et al., 2017). As a result of this philosophical shift, the minimalist, reductive form that resulted from this philosophy came to embody a new aesthetic ideal in which architectural beauty is reflected mainly as a by-product of design based on functionalism (Rattenbury & Hardingham, 2007).

This notion also brought forth many changes in the pivotal themes of the modular approach: design, manufacturing, and construction. A study on a housing settlement in Istanbul conducted by Altaş & Özsoy (1998) has shown that a complex relationship exists between the perceived space and real dwelling size in terms of space organisation and that the proper organisation of rooms can encourage flexible use or adaptation in a dwelling. Therefore, to achieve the goal of optimising architectural

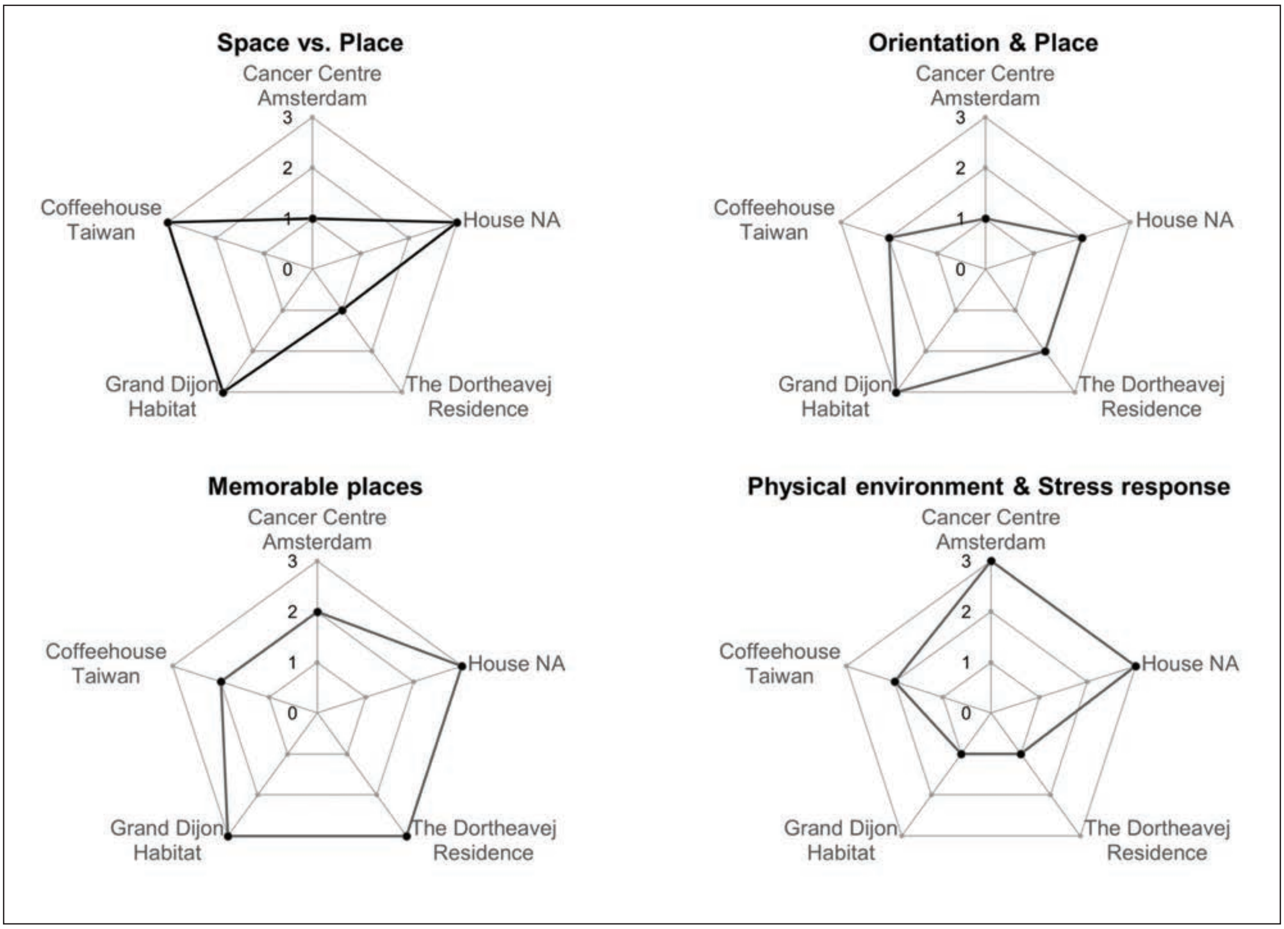


Figure 9: Architectural experience potentials for the examined case study examples.

experience in a modular building, it is necessary to establish a proper relationship between the users/human beings and space. In this case, a methodology based on the physical features of the form and space, its materiality, functional, and technical characteristics would be enriched by an approach in which the human being is an architectural subject that perceives architectural experience. People gain experience with the environment through their bodies and senses, and new insights in the fields of neuroscience and cognition can be used in achieving this goal.

Therefore, based on these concepts, some potential questions and directions for future research can be outlined:

- What would be the effects of the widespread use of modular architecture, and how would this affect the architectural experience of end-users?
- What influence will the advancements in the field of neuroarchitecture have on spatial qualities?
- What are the potentials of neuroarchitecture as a tool for achieving a more profound architectural experience?

In order to find answers to these questions, it is first necessary to implement the acquired knowledge in the field of neuroarchitecture and to define and structure it more closely. Based on the conducted review, it can be concluded that, as a scientific field, it is still in its early stages. There are generally no existing scientific indicators for determining architectural values that can define feelings, mood, ambience, atmosphere, and similar. An enactive approach is used to establish a scientific system to structure architectural experience. It assumes that human beings use their bodies to acquire and establish experiences with the environment. This approach stems from an altered discourse on the role of the human being in architecture. The enactive approach brings the concept of the active role of humans in the environment in gaining an architectural experience via their bodies. This means that in the focus of their

design architects should establish a system of values relating to the human/user-space relationship (i.e., as a user-oriented design). Doing so would further enhance the modular approach to achieve the architectural value of the modular building and contribute to the enrichment of certain stages in the creation of modular buildings, such as pre-design, design, and development.

CONCLUSION

This article aimed to identify trends in the development of modular buildings using the knowledge of experience in architecture. The paper strives in identifying a link between how modular buildings are designed and constructed and how this process ultimately affects the end-user and his experience of space.

From the reviewed literature on modular design and construction, it has been found out that even though modular construction as a principle responds with simplicity to the different demands of users, the consideration of the end-user experience is not taken into account. In contrast, recent advances in the fields of the neuroscience of architecture and neuroarchitecture have shown a trend towards a better understanding of the impact of architectural design on human perception and subjective experience.

Based on this review from both perspectives and the notions given in the discussion, it can be concluded that a modular building that results from the process of modular design and construction is not a mere technological process devoid of interest in the human being and his experience of space. As much interest is given to the process of efficiency, productivity, cost reduction, safety and sustainability, the question remains regarding what aspects of architectural experience are crucial to obtain a richer architectural experience in modular buildings.

MODULARNA GRADNJA IN ARHITEKTURNA IZKUŠNJA KONČNEGA UPORABNIKA – ZNANSTVENI PREGLED

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POVZETEK

Modularna gradnja je globalni trend, ki spreminja gradbeno industrijo po vsem svetu. Čeprav metoda konceptualizacije in materializacije modularne stavbe sama po sebi ni inovacija, se ta metoda nenehno izboljšuje s sinergijo z drugimi disciplinami. Namen tega članka je razkriti nedavne trende v razvoju modularnih stavb z znanjem izkušenj v arhitekturi. Prvi del članka vsebuje pregled nedavnega znanstvenega razvoja modularne zasnove in gradnje, skupaj z zgodovinskim pregledom, ki opisuje posebne značilnosti modularne gradnje. Drugi del članka se dotika vprašanja arhitekturnih izkušenj, povezanih z dojemanjem arhitekture s strani končnega uporabnika. Presečišče nevroznanosti in arhitekturne teorije je izpostavljeno kot eno od nastajajočih perspektivnih področij v okviru obravnavane problematike. Predstavljene so študije primerov izvedenih projektov modularne gradnje in podana je osnovna ocena potencialov za arhitekturne izkušnje končnih uporabnikov. V prispevku je ugotovljeno, da čeprav se modularna gradnja kot načelo preprosto odziva na različne zahteve uporabnikov, upoštevanje izkušnje končnega uporabnika na splošno ni upoštevano in da modularna stavba, ki izhaja iz procesa modularne zasnove in gradnje, ni zgolj tehnološki proces, temveč zaključena celota, ki vključuje tudi uporabnika in njegovo doživljanje in dojemanje arhitekture. Poleg tega lahko nove ugotovitve na področju nevroarhiteture privedejo do novih metod v procesu načrtovanja in gradnje modularnih stavb, z večjim poudarkom na končnem uporabniku.

Ključne besede: modularna gradnja, modularni pristop, arhitekturna izkušnja, uprizarjanje arhitekture, doživljanje arhitekture, izkušnja končnega uporabnika

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POMEN ODPRTEGA JAVNEGA PROSTORA V SREDIŠČIH MAJHNIH MEST Z VIDIKA IZVAJANJA STORITEV SPLOŠNEGA POMENA

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IZVLEČEK

Prispevek obravnava fizično pojavnost, pomen in funkcijo odprtega javnega prostora (OJP) v povezavi s storitvami splošnega pomena (SSP) in njihov vpliv na kakovost bivanja za prebivalce majhnih mest v Sloveniji. V raziskavi sta uporabljeni kartografska metoda in anketni vprašalnik. Rezultati so pokazali, da središče mesta lahko opredelimo z lego SSP in OJP. Mesta so zelo različno opremljena z OJP in se razlikujejo tudi po njihovi fizični pojavnosti in funkciji, kar vpliva na zadovoljstvo z bivanjem v njih. Ne glede na to prebivalci OJP pred SSP uporabljajo na dnevni ravni. Tam preživljajo tudi prosti čas in prepoznavajo njegovo prostorsko (kulturno) vlogo.

Ključne besede: funkcija odprtega javnega prostora, storitve splošnega pomena, središča majhnih mest, kakovost bivanja, Slovenija

IL SIGNIFICATO DELLO SPAZIO PUBBLICO APERTO NEGLI CENTRI DELLE CITTÀ PICCOLE DAL PUNTO DI VISTA DEGLI SERVIZI DI INTERESSE GENERALE

SINTESI

Il contributo riguarda l'aspetto fisico, il significato e la funzione dello spazio pubblico aperto (SPA) nel contesto dei servizi di interesse generale (SIG) e il loro impatto sulla qualità della vita degli abitanti delle piccole città Slovene. Per lo studio sono stati utilizzati il metodo cartografico e il questionario. I risultati hanno mostrato che il centro della città può essere definito dalla posizione di SPA e SIG. Le città sono dotate di SPA in modi molto diversi, si differenziano anche nell'aspetto fisico e la funzione del SPA, il che influisce sulla soddisfazione di vivere in città. Indipendentemente da ciò, gli abitanti usano il SPA in fronte del SIG quotidianamente, per trascorrere il loro tempo libero lì e riconoscerne il ruolo spaziale (culturale).

Parole chiave: funzione dello spazio pubblico aperto, servizi di interesse generale, centri di città piccole, qualità della vita, Slovenia

UVOD

Sodobna mesta se nenehno spreminjajo zaradi gospodarske in kulturne globalizacije, demografskih nihanj in migracijskih tokov, stalnega spreminjanja strategij urbanističnega načrtovanja, vedno novih in spreminjajočih se socialnih omrežij ter številnih drugih gospodarskih in socialnih dejavnikov. Srečujemo se s številnimi izzivi, kot so: »vlaganje v konkurenčnost s spodbujanjem obstoječih gospodarskih dejavnosti, inovativnosti in ustvarjalnosti, pa privabljanje tujih naložb in hkrati doseganje vizije modela visoke kakovosti življenja, zlasti v primerih dobre prakse trajnostnega razvoja mest« (Fikfak et al., 2019, 3). Mesta se oblikujejo in spreminjajo obliko v procesih urbanizacije in nastajanja aglomeracij, ki so izid tekmovanja na podlagi velikosti in rasti prebivalstva, konkurence pri zaposlitvah, investicijah in v prometu, ki vodijo do razvoja različnih funkcij in specializacije v prostoru (Cirman et al., 2018). Koncentracija prebivalstva in raznolikih dejavnosti v mestih po eni strani omogoča, da se socialne in gospodarske interakcije pojavljajo vse pogosteje, po drugi pa so omejene prav zaradi njihove koncentracije. Hkrati veliko mest v svojih socialnih, ekonomskih in prostorskih politikah teži k doseganju razvojnih ciljev, kot je visoka kakovost življenja z vključevanjem načel trajnostnega in vzdržnega razvoja. Celoten proces vpliva na urbano ekonomijo in splošno učinkovitost mest in občin tudi v slovenskem prostoru. Odločitev o pristopu k trajnostnemu urbanemu načrtovanju pomeni usklajevanje politik in premišljeno odločanje o lokacijah stanovanjskih, poslovnih ali družbenih dejavnosti, s tem tudi javnih objektov in infrastrukture ter rabe prostora.

V poročilu Komisije za merjenje gospodarske uspešnosti in družbenega napredka (Stiglitz et al., 2009) je bilo izpostavljeno, da se vprašanje trajnosti dejansko nanaša na kakovost življenja. Pogosto se za merjenje kakovosti bivalnega okolja uporablja Mercerjeva lestvica kakovosti bivanja (2019), ki ocenjuje mesta po: varnosti, izobrazbi, higieni, zdravstvenem varstvu, kulturi, okolju, rekreaciji, politični in ekonomski stabilnosti ter javnem prometu. Raziskovalci so razvili še vrsto drugih lestvic, ki v vrednotenje vključujejo tudi elemente razvoja družbe. Preverjanje stanja kakovosti življenja se v članicah Evropske unije izvaja z Evropsko raziskavo o kakovosti življenja EQLS, 2003–2016, ki jo dopolnjuje Eurofoundova elektronska podatkovna zbirka statističnih kazalnikov kakovosti življenja EurLIFE (Eurofound, 2016). Iz leta 2016 so podatki organizirani v kategorije, ki se nanašajo na kakovost življenja, družbe in javnih storitev (Eurofound, 2017), kar nedvomno zajema tudi kazalnike kakovosti odprtega javnega prostora[1] (v nadaljevanju: OJP) v urbanem okolju (Fikfak, 2019).

Z raziskovanjem mestnih središč z vidika raziskovanja OJP so se ukvarjali v številnih študijah (Frieden & Sagalyn, 1989; McBee, 1992; Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998), predvsem v velikih mestih (Lockwood, 1996; Holt, 1998; Howland, 1998). Mnogo manj raziskovalcev (Robertson, 1999), študij in projektov (ESPON 1.4.1, 2006; ESPON TOWN, 2014) se osredotoča na proučevanje razvoja in notranjega ustroja majhnih mest. Nekateri slovenski raziskovalci pa so se poglobili v pregled stanja z vidika razvoja in opremljenosti majhnih mest z OJP (Simoneti, 1997; Goličnik, 2005 in 2006; Nikšič, 2006; Zapušek Černe, 2009; Goličnik & Ward Thompson, 2010; Jankovič Grobelšek, 2011; Vertelj Nared, 2014; Vertelj Nared & Zavodnik Lamovšek, 2015). Splošna ugotovitev je, da je OJP v majhnih mestih prav tako pomemben za kakovost življenja njihovih prebivalcev kot v velikih mestih. Sociologi in urbani geografi (Kos, 2008; Uršič, 2008; Rebernik, 2010) namreč navajajo, da se je tudi v majhnih in srednje velikih mestih v Sloveniji pričel proces umikanja mestnih funkcij na obrobje, posledica pa je zamiranje mestnih središč. Poseben primer selitve OJP so obalna mesta, v katerih obalne promenade vse bolj prevzemajo funkcijo urbanih javnih površin[2] (Čok & Bolčič, 2018). Ob tem se odpira vprašanje umestitve centralnih dejavnosti[3] v mestni prostor. Razporejene naj bi bile namreč tako, da se preseže razdeljenost mesta na kraj bivanja in kraj dela. Pomembno je razumeti, da je »mestnost« način vsakodnevnega življenja v mestu in ne le fizična, temveč tudi pojavna oblika mestnega središča (Jakhel, 1979).

Kakovostne prostorske ureditve[4] OJP so pomembne za identiteto in prepoznavno vrednost mest. OJP omogoča posameznikovo možnost izbire in neposredne socialne in družbene interakcije ter hkrati dolgoročno vpliva na skupnostno rast in razvoj. Prispevek se zato osredotoča na pojav OJP v majhnih mestih glede na

1 Čeprav se v veljavnem Zakonu o urejanju prostora (ZUReP-2, 2017) in Uredbi o prostorskem redu Slovenije (2004) uporablja termin »območje javnih zelenih in grajenih odprtih površin«, smo se zaradi ožje tematike tega prispevka in že objavljenih sorodnih člankov in drugih strokovnih del odločili, da tudi v tem prispevku obdržimo v stroki ustaljen izraz »odprti javni prostor« oziroma krajše OJP.

2 Z javnim prostorom je povezanih nekaj ključnih pojmov: podoba mesta (angl. image of the city), privlačnost za pešačenje (angl. walkability), raba izključno za pešce (angl. pedestrianization), všečnost (angl. likability) in prostor kot kraj (angl. sense of place, placenessless, identity).

3 Centralne dejavnosti lahko opredelimo kot družbene, oskrbne in storitvene dejavnosti državnega ali lokalnega pomena, ki prebivalcem: a) izboljšujejo kakovost življenja in socialno varnost (storitve splošnega pomena kot so promet, šolstvo, zdravstvo, upravne in kulturne inštitucije; EU Commission, 2019) in b) zagotavljajo zadovoljevanje osnovnih potreb (druge storitve, kot sta trgovina in storitvena obrt).

4 Kakovostne prostorske strukture so skladni sestavi naravnih in ustvarjenih sestavin prostora, zlasti pomembni za identiteto in prepoznavno vrednost prostora, ki tvorijo značilne oblike ali vzorce v prostoru, na primer značilne vedute naselij ali posameznih objektov, značilne kulturne krajine ali poselitvene vzorce (Uredba o prostorskem redu Slovenije, 2004).

lokacijo v mestu pa tudi glede na odnos s centralnimi dejavnostmi, s posebnim poudarkom na storitvah splošnega pomena[5] (v nadaljevanju: SSP). OJP v povezavi s SSP predstavlja prostor socialne[6] interakcije v mestu in je ključen pri zagotavljanju splošnega zadovoljstva z bivanjem v mestu ter zagotavljanju trajnostnega uravnoteženega prostorskega razvoja (Nova atenska listina, 2003; Leipziška listina, 2007; United Nations Development Programme, 2007) in doseganju trajnosti v vseh treh dimenzijah: sociološki, ekološki in ekonomski. OJP v interakciji s SSP s številnimi vlogami in funkcijami spodbuja aktivno mobilnost (pešačenje, kolesarjenje) in večanje stopnje družbene interakcije, kar podpira tudi razvoj lokalne ekonomije (Fikfak, 2007). Slednje (ne)posredno vpliva tudi na fizično (rekreacija) in psihično (druženje, socializacija) zdravje ljudi (Wolch et al., 2014) ter ima mnoge druge raznovrstne pozitivne učinke v interakciji z uporabniki – prebivalci in obiskovalci. V tem okviru se sprašujemo, kako ljudje dojemajo socialne interakcije in ali večja stopnja uporabe OJP pomeni tudi višjo kakovost OJP. V prispevku zato želimo odgovoriti na zastavljeno delovno hipotezo, ali OJP[7] v interakciji s SSP zagotavlja večje zadovoljstvo z bivanjem v majhnih mestih ter hkrati soustvarja in nadgrajuje njihovo mestotvornost.

Vloga in pomen odprtega javnega prostora

OJP ima po mnenju številnih v uvodu že navedenih avtorjev ključno vlogo pri ustvarjanju občutka prepoznavnosti mest in deluje kot pomemben nosilec vsebin in vrednot v najširšem pomenu. Vendar opredelitev OJP ni enoznačna, saj nekateri avtorji menijo, da je OJP zapletena, spremenljiva in zato težko opredeljiva vrsta prostora (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008). Lehrerjeva (2007) ugotavlja, da je OJP predvsem socialni prostor, ki ga ustvarjajo različne prakse ljudi. Dešman (2008) pravi, da je OJP po definiciji prostor ali območje, ki je dostopen vsem, ne glede na raso, spol, socialni status, starost idr. Je dovzeten, občutljiv, demokratičen in pomemben prostor ter varuje pravice skupin, ki ga uporabljajo (Carr et al., 1992). OJP je točka, kjer se izvajajo različne dejavnosti, kar ustvarja skupnost, naj bodo to vsakodnevni opravki ali občasne aktivnosti (Carr et al., 1992).

Na nastanek OJP vplivajo tudi centralne dejavnosti (Mumford, 1969; Carr et al., 1992), predvsem SSP pa tudi druge funkcije, ki služijo prebivalcem za zadovoljevanje vsakodnevnih potreb. S tega vidika ima OJP integrativno funkcijo v povezavi s centralnimi dejavnostmi v mestnem središču (Jakhel, 1977) in je bistven za izboljšanje kakovosti življenja v mestih. Hkrati je OJP podvržen neprestanim spremembam, tako v vsebinskem kot v oblikovnem smislu. V angleški študiji (Mean & Tims, 2005) je nazorno prikazano, da so mnoge potrebe, ki določajo način zaznave OJP, pogosto neotipljive. Tako je izpostavljeno, da osrednji ideal OJP kot »odprtega in brezplačnega prostora za vse ljudi« vse bolj spodkopava osredotočanje na varnost in ustvarjanje neopredeljenih prostorov brez ključnih značilnosti, ki bi privlačile različne vrste uporabnikov in njihovo zadrževanje. Gehl in Gemzøe (2001) celo trdita, da dober OJP izginja zaradi pojava avtomobila, in ne zaradi privatizacije prostora ali novih tehnologij. Carmona in sodelavci (2008) definirajo OJP predvsem z vidika nadzora, torej načina dostopa. OJP se na splošno nanaša na vse dele grajenega in naravnega okolja, javnega in zasebnega, urbanega ter ruralnega prostora, ki so dostopni vsem pod enakimi pogoji, torej ne nujno brez omejitev (Vertelj Nared, 2014). Kot takega ga razumemo in uporabljamo tudi v tem prispevku.

Nekatere definicije se naslanjajo na fizično pojavnost OJP kot domeno urbanističnega oblikovanja (Jackson, 1984; Brown, 2006; Carmona, 2010). Jasno je, da se v sodobnem pojmovanju OJP nanaša na vse širše oblike njegove fizične pojavnosti. Stiles (2011, 5) pravi, da OJP »ne vključuje le parkov in vrtov, mestnih trgov in stanovanj, odprtih območij, ampak zajema celotno nepretrgano matriko nepozidanih zemljišč v mestih«. Po njegovem mnenju je zato OJP temeljni del mestne infrastrukture. V okviru pojavnosti OJP posameznikove aktivnosti potekajo v različnih oblikah. Gehl (2006) opredeljuje tri ravni aktivnosti, in sicer: 1. nujne (vsakdanji opravki), 2. izbirne (rekreacija, opazovanje, sprehajanje) in 3. družbene (pogovor z ljudmi, srečanje s prijatelji, druženje). Vertelj Naredova (2014) v raziskavi o vlogi OJP kot podpori urbanemu razvoju v slovenskih

5 SSP je koncept (ESPON SeGI, 2013), ki omogoča posamezni državi članici, da postavi mejo med tem, kaj bi moralo biti (in kaj ni) vključeno v opredelitev storitev, ki bi se morale javno (davčno) financirati. V EU so SSP opredeljene kot »*tržne in netržne storitve, ki jih javni organi razvrstijo kot splošne in za katere veljajo posebne obveznosti javnih storitev*« (Commission of the European Communities, 2001). Novejši dokumenti poleg tradicionalnih SSP vključujejo tudi storitve na trgu dela, izobraževanje, zdravstveno varstvo, varstvo otrok, socialno varstvo, kulturo ali (socialno) stanovanje, saj uvajajo spremembe v socialni perspektivi EU. Prispevek pa se osredotoča na SSP, ki so jih avtorji (Nared et al., 2016) po zgledu iz Poročila o prostorskem razvoju Slovenije (Fonda et al., 2016) in ESPON-ove študije SeGI (2013; angl. SGI – Services of General Interest) omejili na štiri poglavitne funkcije: javna uprava, sodstvo, zdravstvo in šolstvo.

6 »*Socialno okolje, socialna resničnost, njen vpliv, spoznavanje in oblikovanje lahko poteka zgolj na podlagi interakcije posameznikov z njihovim okoljem in drugimi posamezniki v njem*« (Repovš, 2000, 91).

7 Na preoblikovanje OJP sta vplivala procesa komercializacije in potrošništva (Sorkin, 1992; Zukin, 1995) ter privatizacija (Trancik, 1986; Zukin, 1995; Banerjee, 2001; Madanipour, 2003). Raznolike dejavnosti so se selile na zasebne primestne lokacije, oblikovane kot nakupovalna središča. Zato lahko ugotavljamo, da je del vsebine, vezane na OJP, povezan z globalno trgovino, preživljanjem prostega časa in zabavo. To pa ni cilj razprave tega prispevka.

Preglednica 1: Izbrana merila in kazalniki za širši (funkcijska in morfološka merila) ter ožji (formalna merila) izbor mest.
Table 1: Selected criteria and indicators for a broad (functional and morphological criteria) and narrow (formal criteria) selection of small towns.

Merilo	**Kazalnik**		**Širši izbor mest**
Funkcijsko (*Nared et al., 2016*)	- **javna uprava** (občina, zavod za zaposlovanje, policijska postaja, center za socialno delo, pošta) - **šolstvo** (vrtec, osnovna šola, glasbena šola) - **zdravstvo** (zdravstveni dom, lekarna, dom upokojencev) - **sodstvo** (okrajno sodišče) - **kulturne dejavnosti** (knjižnica, kulturni dom)[8]		Ajdovščina, Brežice, Cerknica, Črnomelj, Domžale, Gornja Radgona, Grosuplje, Idrija, Ilirska Bistrica, Kamnik, Kočevje, Krško, Lenart v Slovenskih goricah, Lendava, Litija, Ljutomer, Ormož, Piran, Postojna, Radovljica, Sevnica, Sežana, Slovenj Gradec, Slovenska Bistrica, Slovenske Konjice, Šentjur, Škofja Loka, Šmarje pri Jelšah, Tolmin, Trbovlje, Trebnje, Velenje, Vrhnika, Žalec
Morfološko (*Drozg, 1998*)	srednjeveška in modernistična zasnova	- **izoblikovana** zasnova	Ajdovščina, Brežice, Črnomelj, Gornja Radgona, Idrija, Ilirska Bistrica, Kamnik, Krško, Lenart v Slovenskih goricah, Lendava, Ljutomer, Radovljica, Sevnica, Sežana, Slovenj Gradec, Slovenska Bistrica, Slovenske Konjice, Škofja Loka, Tolmin, Velenje, Vrhnika, Žalec
		- **neizoblikovana** zasnova	Cerknica, Litija, Šentjur, Šmarje pri Jelšah, Trebnje
	modernistična zasnova	- **izoblikovana** zasnova	Domžale, Trbovlje
		- **neizoblikovana** zasnova	Grosuplje
			ožji izbor mest
Formalno (*Statistični urad: SURS, 2018*)	**število prebivalcev**		
	v obravnavanem majhnem mestu	**v pripadajoči občini**	
	5000–7000	14.500–16.000	Litija, Slovenske Konjice
	7500–12.000	20.001–26.000	Grosuplje, Slovenska Bistrica, Škofja Loka
	10.000–15.000	16.001–20.000	Trbovlje
	10.000–15.000	26.001–36.000	Domžale, Kamnik

mestih ugotavlja, da prevladujejo nujne aktivnosti, sledijo jim družbene in šele nato izbirne aktivnosti. SSP so dejavnosti, ki niso izključno vezane na eno ali drugo obliko socialnih interakcij in aktivnosti.

Prispevek izhaja iz predpostavke, da zaradi sodobnih procesov razvoja urbanega prostora lokacija OJP ni več vezana le na mestna središča, temveč se pojavlja predvsem tam, kjer se razvijajo za prebivalstvo atraktivne storitve (na primer trgovske in prostočasne). V zvezi z uvodoma zastavljeno delovno hipotezo se zato postavlja raziskovalno vprašanje, ali je zato vloga OJP v mestnih središčih šibkejša in ali ima pomen le še v navezavi s SSP. Glede na postavljeno vprašanje sta bila raziskana pomen in vloga lokacije SSP v odnosu do OJP v središčih majhnih mest. Z vidika kakovosti bivanja pa tudi, katere OJP prebivalci majhnih mest najpogosteje uporabljajo (tip, pomen in lokacija OJP).

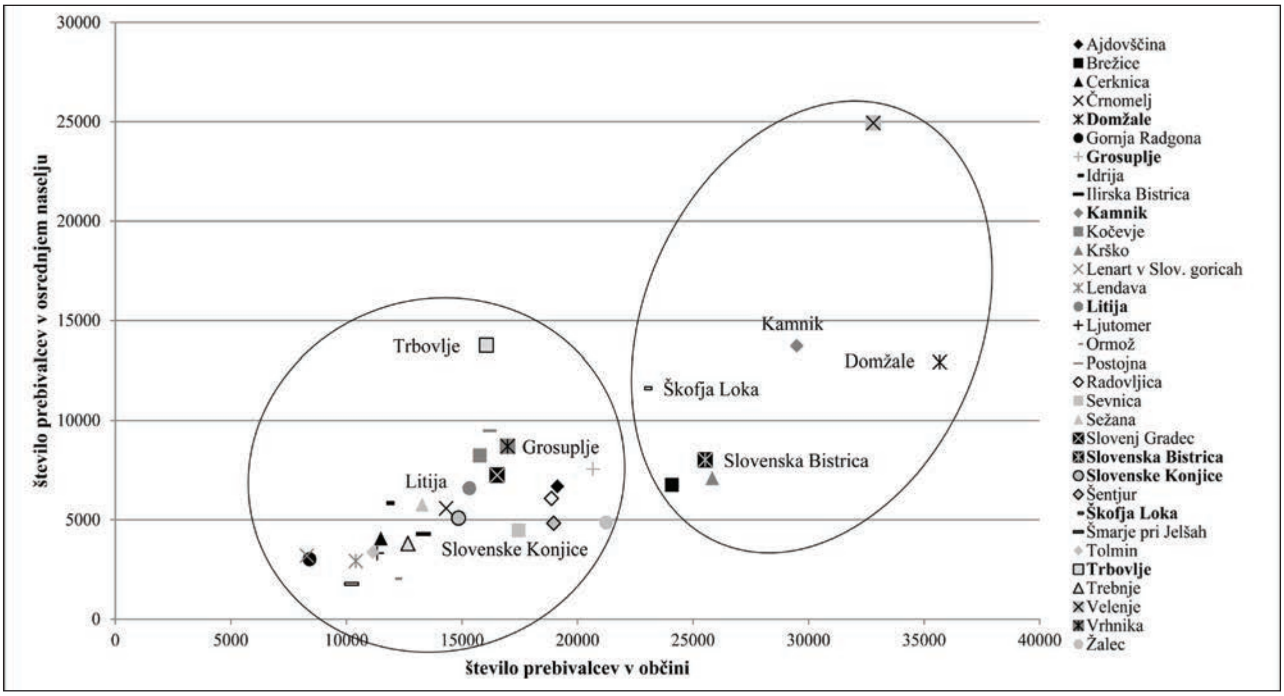
METODE IN PODATKI

Raziskava OJP in njegove interakcije s SSP v središčih majhnih mest je temeljila na kombinaciji različnih metodoloških pristopov, ki so omogočili celovito analizo izbranih majhnih mest v Sloveniji. Odločitev za izbrano kombinacijo metodoloških pristopov in tehnik lahko utemeljimo na podlagi študija literature (Robertson, 2001; Carmona et al., 2008; Carmona, 2010). S ciljem kontinuitete raziskovanja OJP v majhnih mestih smo se oprli tudi na Vertelj Naredovo (2014), ki se je v svoji doktorski nalogi ukvarjala s pomenom in vlogo OJP v majhnih mestih.

Metodološki pristop je v prvi fazi temeljil na izdelavi dveh naborov majhnih mest v Sloveniji. Na ožjem naboru je bila izdelana prostorska analiza osmih mest s kartografsko metodo. Dobljeni rezultati so bili nato preverjeni na širšem izboru 33 mest (slika 1) z anketnim vprašalnikom.

Raziskava je bila zaključena s sinteznim delom, v katerem je bila uporabljena korelacijska analiza med pogostostjo uporabe OJP (promenada, osrednji trg ali osrednji park, prostor ob vodi, OJP v interakciji s SSP in drugimi centralnimi dejavnostmi) v mestnem središču ter zadovoljstvom z bivanjem v mestu. Dodatno smo namreč želeli potrditi pomen in vlogo OJP v središčih mest ter pomen OJP v interakciji s SSP. V tem delu raziskave smo preverili še, ali obstaja povezava med pogostostjo uporabe

8 Naštete javne storitve so v članku opredeljene s pojmom SSP. Širša skupina mest je bila izbrana glede na kazalnik okrajno sodišče, ožji izbor pa na podlagi vseh naštetih SSP.



Slika 1: Razporeditev mest v dve podobni skupini glede na število prebivalcev v izbranem mestu in njegovem zaledju (območje pripadajoče občine).
Figure 1: Division of cities into two similar groups according to the number of inhabitants in the selected city and its hinterland (area of the associated municipality).

različnih vrst OJP v mestih z zasnovo mestnega središča (morfološko merilo, preglednica 1), urejenostjo ter opremljenostjo mestnega središča z OJP (glede na tip OJP, preglednica 2). Ta del analize je bil izveden s hierarhičnim združevanjem mest (drevesni diagram) v značilne skupine.

Izbor majhnih mest za raziskavo

Za opredelitev in izbor majhnih mest Slovenije je bila uporabljena študija Pomen majhnih in srednje velikih mest za razvoj urbanih območij (Prosen et al., 2008), v kateri je opredeljenih 82 majhnih mest[9]. Študija je kljub časovni odmaknjenosti še vedno dobra podlaga za tovrstne raziskave. Nadaljnji izbor majhnih mest (preglednica 1) je za potrebe te raziskave potekal na podlagi funkcijskega merila (povzeto po Nared et al., 2016) in morfološkega merila (povzeto po Drozg, 1998). Za potrebe podrobne prostorske analize smo zožili izbor mest glede na dodatno formalno merilo (število prebivalcev v majhnih mestih).

V drugem koraku raziskave je bil na podlagi formalnega merila (preglednica 1) opredeljen ožji izbor osmih mest, saj sklepamo, da prebivalci širšega zaledja občine uporabljajo SSP v mestu, ki je praviloma tudi občinsko središče[10]. Najprej so bila mesta z metodo voditeljev (angl. *K-means clustering*) razporejena v dve podobni skupini glede na število prebivalcev. V manjši skupini so mesta: Brežice, Domžale, Kamnik, Krško, Slovenska Bistrica, Škofja Loka in Velenje, v drugi skupni pa ostalih 26 mest. Iz vsake skupine so bila izbrana po štiri mesta, pri čemer je bilo ponovno upoštevano tudi morfološko merilo, saj je bila s tem dosežena tudi večja raznolikost obravnavanih mest glede na njihovo zasnovo (slika 1). Za vseh osem mest (slika 2) je bila nato narejena podrobnejša prostorska analiza na podlagi kartografske metode.

Na podlagi prvega merila smo oblikovali nabor 34 majhnih mest (slika 2), ki so enakomerno zastopana po vseh statističnih regijah. Piran se od ostalih mest razlikuje, saj je SSP razpršen po različnih naseljih (Piran, Portorož in Lucija). Zato je bil Piran izločen, nabor pa skrčen na 33 mest. Izbrana mesta so bila nato na podlagi morfološkega merila razporejena v štiri skupine (preglednica 1), pri čemer prevladuje skupina mest z izoblikovanim srednjeveškim in modernističnim središčem. Na izboru vseh 33 mest je bila v nadaljevanju izvedena širša analiza z anketnim vprašalnikom.

9 V nadaljevanju za majhno mesto uporabljamo krajši izraz mesto. Daljšo zvezo še vedno uporabljamo povsod, kjer je to potrebno zaradi jasnosti.
10 Razen v primeru večjih (mestnih) občin ali občin z regionalnim središčem (Velenje, Brežice, Krško idr.), kjer ima majhno mesto le vlogo manjšega lokalnega središča (na primer SPRS, 2004).

Preglednica 2: Izbrani tipi OJP, upoštevani v raziskavi majhnih mest.
Table 2: Selected types of open public space included in the small town survey.

Tip	Podtip	Primeri
A/ Naravni prostor	naravni prostor	*reka, potok, naravna danost, morska obala, kanal*
	zelene površine	*zeleni pas ob cesti, gozd, travnik*
B/ Urbani prostor	zelene urbane površine	*park, vrt, urbani gozd, pokopališče, urejen prostor ob vodi, park za rolkanje, igrišče, športno igrišče, proga*
	grajen odprt mestni prostor	*trg, promenada, ulica zaprta za promet, tržnica, trg pred cerkvijo*
	prostor za gibanje	*državna cesta, občinska cesta, ulica in pločnik, železnica, podhod, avtobusno in železniško postajališče, bencinska črpalka*
	servisni prostor	*parkirišče, servisno dvorišče, območje proizvodne in industrijske dejavnosti*
	nedefinirani prostor	*prostor za obnovo, zapuščen prostor, prehodni prostor*
	stanovanjska krajina	*urejeni odprti prostor, namenjen prebivalcem soseske*
	OJP pred stavbami SSP	*odprti prostor v navezavi na stavbe SSP*

Kartografska metoda

Prostorska analiza je bila opravljena s ciljem opredelitve fizične pojavnosti OJP v majhnih mestih ter njihove prostorske interakcije s SSP. V zgoraj opredeljenih osmih mestih (slika 2, preglednica 1) je bila izdelana v letih 2017 in 2018. Raziskovanje je potekalo na podlagi kabinetnega dela (fotointerpretacija) z javno dostopnimi podatki in podatki iz drugih uradnih evidenc ter je bilo dopolnjeno s terenskim delom. Izvedeno je bilo v treh korakih:

Določitev lokacije SSP in vrste stavb (Uredba o razvrščanju objektov,[11] 2018) v izbranih mestih na podlagi zemljiškega katastra, katastra stavb in registra nepremičnin (GURS, 2016). Uporabljeni so bili tudi Ajpesovi podatki (2019) in podatki s spletne strani PISO (2019). Stavbe smo opredelili še podrobneje glede na dejansko rabo dela stavbe[12] (GURS, 2016).

Opredelitev tipa (preglednica 2), lokacije in funkcije OJP (slika 3 prikazuje primer izdelane analize na primeru Domžal) na podlagi zemljiškega katastra, katastra stavb in digitalnega ortofoto posnetka (GURS, 2016) ter spletne strani PISO (2019). Uporabljena tipologija OJP je predstavljena v preglednici 2. V raziskavi skladno z uvodno opredelitvijo OJP nismo preverjali lastništva površin.

Opredelitev lokacije in površine središča majhnega mesta na podlagi sinteze rezultatov prvih dveh analitičnih korakov.

Anketni vprašalnik

Namen anketnega vprašalnika je bil preveriti splošno zadovoljstvo prebivalcev z bivanjem v mestu glede na opremljenost mest z OJP in SSP. Cilj raziskave je bil ugotoviti, kje prebivalci mest uporabljajo OJP in ali zaznavajo drugačen pomen OJP pred SSP in pred drugimi centralnimi dejavnostmi ter katero območje opredeljujejo kot središče mesta. Izhajali smo iz predpostavke, da so mesta po površini in funkciji različno opremljena z OJP in SSP ter drugimi centralnimi dejavnostmi in jih prebivalci zato različno uporabljajo, tako po načinu kot po pogostosti.

Anketa je bila izvedena s spletnim orodjem 1KA (https://www.1ka.si/; odprtokodna aplikacija za spletno anketiranje) v obdobju od 5. 10. 2018 do 5. 1. 2019. Izvedena je bila na vzorcu 33 mest (preglednica 1 in slika 2). Anketni vprašalnik je bil vsebinsko zasnovan v petih tematskih sklopih (14 vprašanj) ter posebej dodanem demografskem sklopu (7 vprašanj). Glede na vsebino tega prispevka v nadaljevanju predstavljamo le rezultate petih vprašanj (preglednica 3). Rezultati ankete

11 Uredba o razvrščanju objektov (Uradni list RS, št. 37/18): enostanovanjske stavbe, večstanovanjske stavbe, stanovanjske stavbe za posebne družbene skupine, poslovne in upravne stavbe, trgovske stavbe in stavbe za storitvene dejavnosti, stavbe za promet in stavbe za izvajanje komunikacij, industrijske in skladiščne stavbe, stavbe splošnega družbenega pomena.

12 Šifranti registra nepremičnin in katastra stavb: št. 35331-6/2018-5, datum: 20. 2. 2018 (GURS, 2016).

Preglednica 3: Vsebinski sklopi in vprašanja iz anketnega vprašalnika, ki se nanašajo na raziskovanje interakcije med OJP in SSP ter so zajeti v tem prispevku.
Table 3: Content sets and questions from the questionnaire that relate to research of the interaction between open public space and services of general interest and are covered in this article.

Vsebinski sklop	Ključne raziskovalne vsebine in število respondentov	Tip vprašanja
A_Mesto	zadovoljstvo z bivanjem v mestu (N=2488)	Kako prebivalci na splošno opredelijo zadovoljstvo z bivanjem v mestu?
B_Središče mesta	opredelitev oziroma zaznavnost: območja središča mesta (N = 1888), območja uporabe SSP (N = 1838), območja uporabe drugih centralnih dejavnosti (N = 1798), območja uporabe OJP (N = 1799), območja za ogled (N = 1827), območja bivališča (N =1831)	Kje prebivalci najpogosteje opredelijo območje središča mesta? (npr.: največkrat uporabljajo SSP, največkrat uporabljajo druge centralne dejavnosti, največkrat uporabljajo OJP, se jim zdi najbolj zanimiv za ogled obiskovalcev, kjer bivajo)
C_Odprti javni prostor	opremljenost središča z OJP: količina/obseg OJP (N=1909); pogostost uporabe različnih vrst OJP: promenada (N= 2387), osrednji trg (N= 2291), osrednji park (N= 2242), prostor ob vodi (N= 2224), OJP SSP (N= 2236), OJP drugih centralnih dejavnosti (N= 2235)	S katerimi tipi OJP je opremljeno središče mesta? Kako pogosto se uporabljajo različni OJP v mestu? (glede na tipe OJP, podane v preglednici 2)
D_Storitve splošnega pomena	vloga/funkcija OJP v interakciji s SSP (N = 2184)	Kakšna je interakcija OJP glede na SSP? (npr.: veličasten mestni prostor, orientacijska točka v mestu, prostor za opravljanje nujnih opravkov, prostor za občasno zadrževanje in prostor za preživljanje prostega časa)



Slika 2: Prikaz izbora majhnih mest glede na izbrano funkcijsko, morfološko in formalno merilo.
Figure 2: The map shows selected small towns according to the selected functional, morphological and formal criteria.



Slika 3: Prikaz različnih tipov in lokacije OJP v odnosu do SSP na primeru mesta Domžale.
Figure 3: Presentation of different types and locations of open public spaces in relation to the services of general interest – case of the town of Domžale.

so bili obdelani s programsko opremo Excel in SPSS. Podporo pri izvedbi ankete[13] so zagotovile občine, ki so obvestile svoje občane o njenem poteku in namenu. Hkrati je bila povezava do spletne ankete posredovana lokalnim medijem, ki so prav tako pozvali občane k izpolnjevanju vprašalnika. Spletni vprašalnik je izpolnilo v celoti skupaj 1798 (delno pa 7110)[14] anketirancev. Na vprašanja, ki se po vsebini nanašajo na prispevek, je odgovorilo od 1798 (vprašanje o središču mesta; vsebinski sklop B) do 2488 prebivalcev izbranih mest (vprašanje o zadovoljstvu z bivanjem v mestu; vsebinski sklop A).

REZULTATI

Pomen interakcije odprtega javnega prostora s storitvami splošnega pomena za kakovost bivanja

Preveritev odnosa OJP in SSP je pokazala, da je njuna lokacija ključna za določitev območja središča mesta, ki se sicer med mesti razlikuje zaradi njihove neponovljive zasnove, strukture, oblike, podobe, umeščenosti v naravni prostor idr. Za razumevanje interakcij med OJP in SSP je pomemben tudi tip stavbe, v katerega so umeščene

13 Na anketni vprašalnik je odgovorilo več žensk kot moških (72,1 % žensk in 27,9 % moških). Največ anketirancev je srednje starosti (41–60 let, 52 %) in starih od 21 do 40 let (35,8 %). Manj je starejših (61 let ali več, 9,6 %) in najmlajših (do 20 let, 2,5 %). Največ je ljudi z višjo, visoko šolo ali fakulteto (62 %), najmanj pa z manj kot srednjo šolo (1,4 %). Vmes so tisti s srednjo šolo (25,3 %) in s podiplomsko izobrazbo (11,3 %). Največ anketirancev je zaposlenih v mestu, kjer stanujejo (52,9 %). Najmanj pa je tistih, ki niso zaposleni, kamor sodijo tudi upokojenci, dijaki in podobno (14,3 %). Skoraj tretjina jih je zaposlenih v drugem mestu (32,8 %). Večina anketiranih živi v hiši (76,3 %), izrazito manj pa v stanovanjskem bloku (23,7 %). Prav tako je prevladujoče število tistih, ki v mestu živijo že več kot 20 let (72,4 %), sledijo jim tisti, ki so v mestu do 20 let (14,2 %), do 10 let (7,4 %) in do 5 let (6 %).

14 Anketiranci niso odgovorili na vsa vprašanja. Glede na tip raziskave so bili upoštevani vsi odgovori ankete, ki so izpolnjene bodisi v celoti bodisi delno, izločene pa so prazne ankete.

Preglednica 4: Tipi in lokacija OJP ter njihova zastopanost v obravnavanih mestih.
Table 4: Types and locations of open public spaces and their representation in the cities analysed.

Mesto / OJP	Domžale	Grosuplje	Kamnik	Litija	Slovenska Bistrica	Slovenske Konjice	Škofja Loka	Trbovlje
Naravni prostor	potok		reka	reka	potok	kanal in potok	reka	potok
Zelene površine		zeleni pasovi ob cesti in travnik		zeleni pas ob cesti			zeleni pas ob cesti, travnik	zeleni pas ob cesti, travnik
Zelene urbane površine	park ob poslovni stavbi	manjši park	osrednji park, manjši park	del urejene poti ob reki	osrednji park, park ob gradu	urejene površine ob potoku, park in osrednji park, park ob poslovni stavbi	park ob gradu	osrednji park
Grajen odprt mestni prostor	tržnica, razširjen pločnik s spomenikom, trg ob nakupovalnem središču	manjši trg	osrednji trg, promenada, trg ob cerkvi, štirje manjši trgi	razširjen pločnik s spomenikom, trg ob trgovski stavbi, trg ob cerkvi	razširjen pločnik, trg ob cerkvi	promenada, osrednji trg, trg ob cerkvi	osrednji trg, promenada, trg ob trgovski stavbi	trg ob nakupovalnem središču
Prostor za gibanje	državna in občinske ceste	državna in občinske ceste	državna in občinske ceste	državna in občinske ceste ter tri bencinske črpalke	državna in občinske ceste	občinske ceste	državna in občinske ceste	državna in občinske ceste
Servisni prostor	eno veliko in več manjših parkirišč ter servisno dvorišče	več parkirišč	parkirišče in servisno dvorišče ob nakupovalnem središču	veliko parkirišče ob velikem stavbnem kompleksu in trgovski stavbi ter servisni dvorišči, manjša parkirišča in industrijsko proizvodno območje	manjša parkirišča	večje parkirišče	tri parkirišča ob velikem stavbnem kompleksu	parkirišče ob trgovsko poslovnem kompleksu
Nedefinirani prostor	zapuščen, prehoden prostor in prostor za obnovo		zapuščen prehoden prostor					
Stanovanjska krajina	tlakovana površina, park in dve otroški igrišči	park in otroška igrišča	tlakovana površina	park in otroško igrišče v stanovanjski soseski			otroško igrišče	tlakovana površina, park in otroško igrišče
OJP pred stavbami SSP	park ob občini, park ob pošti, trg ob banki, park ob stavbi z zdravstveno dejavnostjo, park ob policiji, ograjena otroška igrišča	trg ob občinski stavbi, manjši park ob knjižnici in ograjena otroška igrišča	ograjena otroška igrišča	trg pred šolo, park ob lekarni, ograjena otroška igrišča	ograjeno otroško igrišče, park ob občini	otroško igrišče, park ob domu za upokojence, trg ob sodišču in knjižnici/ kulturnem domu	ograjeno otroško igrišče, park ob šoli	trg ob kulturnem domu, trg ob občini, ograjen park in otroško igrišče

SSP.[15] Največji delež stavb je kot vrsta stavbe opredeljen kot stavba splošnega družbenega pomena (40,6 %), druga najobsežnejša skupina so poslovne in upravne stavbe (34,3 %). Pri podrobnejši opredelitvi stavbe glede na dejansko rabo dela stavbe (GURS, 2016) pa se je izkazalo, da je največji delež stavb opredeljen kot: javna uprava[16] (24,6 %) in stavbe za predšolsko vzgojo ter osnovnošolsko in srednješolsko izobraževanje[17] (19,2 %). Nekatere stavbe so opredeljene celo kot nakupovalni center[18] (1,3 %) ali garaža v garažni hiši (0,7 %), kjer glede na površino v delu stavbe prevladuje prostor za parkiranje.

Mesta se glede lokacije in velikosti OJP med seboj zelo razlikujejo. Rezultati kažejo (preglednica 4), da so vsa analizirana mesta opremljena z OJP, ki pa se razlikujejo po vrstah, obsegu in načinu uporabe, kot kažejo naslednji primeri. V Kamniku se nahajajo promenada, osrednji trg, trg pred cerkvijo in tlakovane ulice. Zelo podobno je v Slovenskih Konjicah in Škofji Loki. Opisana mesta imajo razširjeno ulico, ki je zaprta za promet, ali večji osrednji trg. V Slovenski Bistrici cesta ni zaprta za promet, zato je OJP prometna cesta z dodanim razširjenim pločnikom. V Domžalah, Grosuplju in Litiji je OJP razširjen del pločnika s spomenikom, v Litiji tudi trg pred cerkvijo in v Domžalah tržnica. Posebej je treba izpostaviti trend selitev SSP v večje večfunkcionalne stavbe (primer Domžal in Litije), pri čemer pa še ni bilo zaslediti, da bi se pred temi stavbami oblikoval tudi nov osrednji OJP.

Zadovoljstvo prebivalcev z odprtim javnim prostorom v majhnih mestih

Odgovori na anketni vprašalnik so pokazali, da so prebivalci na splošno zadovoljni z bivanjem v mestih (povprečje na desetstopenjski lestvici je za vsa mesta skupaj 6,55). Tudi glede priporočila obiskovalcem za ogled mesta bi prebivalci najpogosteje priporočali prav mestno središče (82 % odgovorov). V Litiji so prebivalci najmanj zadovoljni (5,22), v Radovljici pa je ocena najvišja (7,49). Prebivalci mest tudi jasno prepoznajo središče mesta z osrednjim OJP, ki hkrati sovpada z območjem, kjer najpogosteje uporabljajo SSP (64 % odgovorov). Na drugi strani pa prebivalci druge centralne dejavnosti uporabljajo bolj razpršeno, le v 15 % v središču mesta. Glede na podane odgovore, da prebivalci najpogosteje uporabljajo SSP v središču mesta, ki je opremljeno tudi z OJP, lahko potrdimo interakcijo med OJP in SSP, ne pa tudi med OJP in drugimi centralnimi dejavnostmi.

V nadaljevanju so se anketiranci na petstopenjski lestvici opredelili glede vprašanja, ali je v mestnem središču dovolj OJP (slika 4). V posameznih mestih ocena niha od 1,97 (Črnomelj) do 4,14 (Velenje), kar kaže v nasprotju s splošnim zadovoljstvom z bivanjem v mestu večje nezadovoljstvo z opremljenostjo mestnih središč z OJP. Povprečna ocena je sicer za vsa mesta skupaj 2,91, vendar je v skoraj polovici mest (15) zadovoljstvo nižje od povprečne ocene. Ob tem je pomembno tudi spoznanje, da so z OJP nadpovprečno opremljena mesta z izoblikovano zasnovo mestnega središča, pri čemer so v ospredju starejša mesta s srednjeveško zasnovo (na primer Kamnik, Radovljica, Slovenske Konjice). Mesta z neizoblikovano zasnovo, kot so Cerknica, Litija, Šentjur, Šmarje pri Jelšah in Trebnje ter mesta z modernistično zasnovo (izoblikovano ali neizoblikovano) Domžale, Grosuplje in Trbovlje, pa so tudi slabše opremljena z OJP. Ti rezultati sovpadajo z rezultati anketnega vprašalnika, kar dodatno potrjuje pomen OJP v središču mesta za kakovost bivanja v mestih ter njihov prispevek k mestotvornosti majhnih mest.

Anketiranci so odgovorili tudi na vprašanje, kateri tipi OJP se najpogosteje pojavljajo v središčih mest in kako pogosto jih uporabljajo (slika 5). Rezultati ponovno kažejo na močno povezavo med SSP in OJP, saj kar 21 % prebivalcev uporablja OJP pred SSP na dnevni ravni. Prav tako visok je odstotek uporabe OJP pred drugimi centralnimi dejavnostmi (18 % na dnevni ravni). Tudi sicer prebivalci majhnih mest največ uporabljajo prav OJP pred SSP oziroma drugimi centralnimi dejavnostmi, medtem ko preseneča podatek, kako malo prebivalcev uporablja zelene površine na dnevni ali tedenski ravni. Najmanj je v uporabi osrednji park (le 4 % na dnevi ravni), medtem ko ga vsaj enkrat letno obišče 33 % prebivalcev majhnih mest. Tudi ti odgovori kažejo na interakcijo OJP s SSP kot pomembnega gradnika urbanega prostora v mestu, ki ga ljudje uporabljajo najpogosteje, običajno celo na dnevni ravni.

Odgovori na dodatno vprašanje o pomenu interakcije OJP s SSP so razkrili, da za prebivalce majhnih mest OJP v povezavi s SSP ni le prostor, kjer se zadržujejo zaradi nujnih opravkov (13 % prebivalcev) in občasnega zadrževanja (34,4 %), temveč tam preživljajo tudi svoj prosti čas (22,3 % prebivalcev). Prebivalci majhnih mest OJP pred SSP v tretjini primerov (30,3 %) ocenjujejo kot urejen prostor, ki je hkrati orientacijska točka v mestu. Poleg tega so prepoznali njegovo prostorsko (kulturno) vlogo, kar zaznajo kot neposredni vpliv na podobo mesta, zato je tudi razumljivo, da bi obisk mestnega središča priporočala večina prebivalcev. Na podlagi rezultatov lahko torej ugotovimo, da pomen OJP v interakciji s SSP presega zgolj funkcijo opravljanja nujnih dejavnosti, kar lahko podkrepimo s primerjavo z ugotovitvami drugih avtorjev (Gehl, 2006).

Sinteza rezultatov

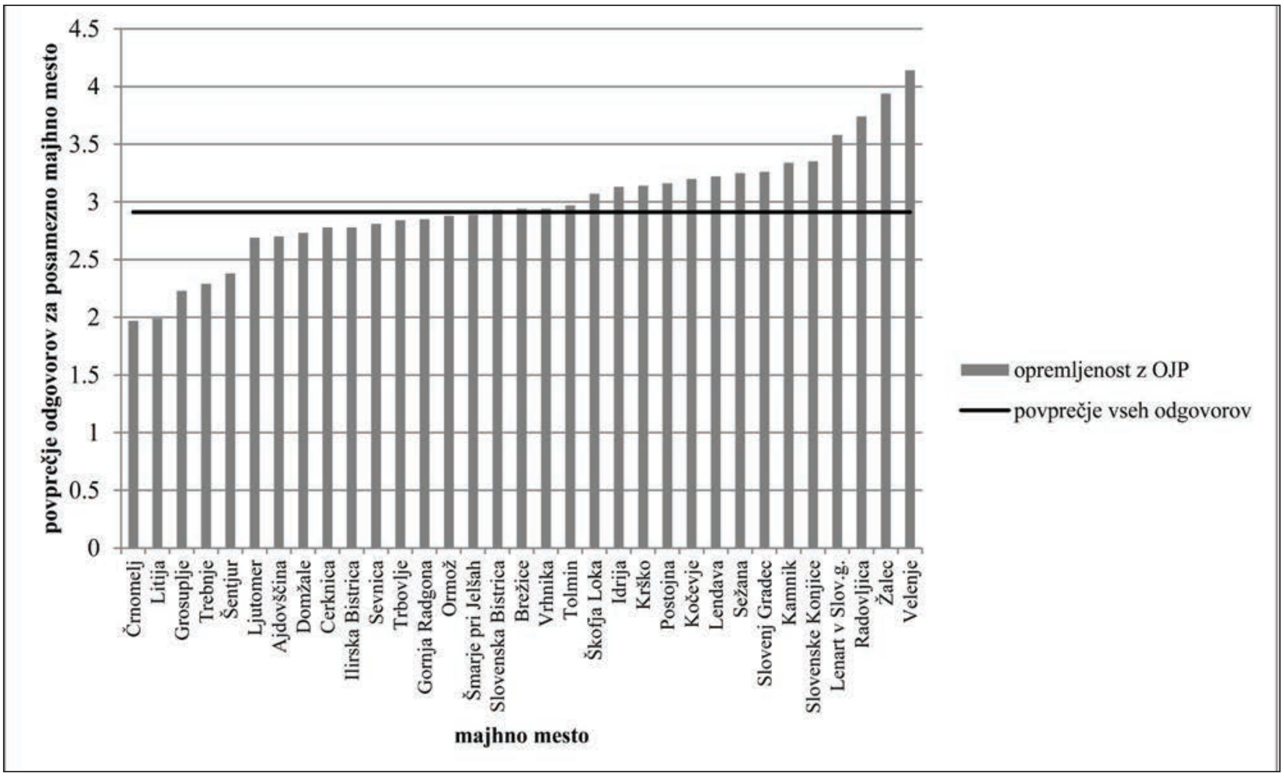
Izvedena korelacijska analiza je pokazala srednjo/zmerno ($r = 0,68$, $p = 1,31*10^{-5}$), na meji z visoko/

15 Analiza vrste stavb je bila opravljena na razširjenem vzorcu 22 mest, kar je omogočila dostopnost podatkov PISO (2019). Vzorec mest je obsegal: Brežice, Črnomelj, Domžale, Gornjo Radgono, Grosuplje, Kamnik, Kočevje, Krško, Lenart v Slovenskih goricah, Litijo, Ljutomer, Ormož, Sevnico, Sežano, Slovenj Gradec, Slovensko Bistrico, Slovenske Konjice, Škofjo Loko, Tolmin, Trbovlje, Trebnje, Velenje.

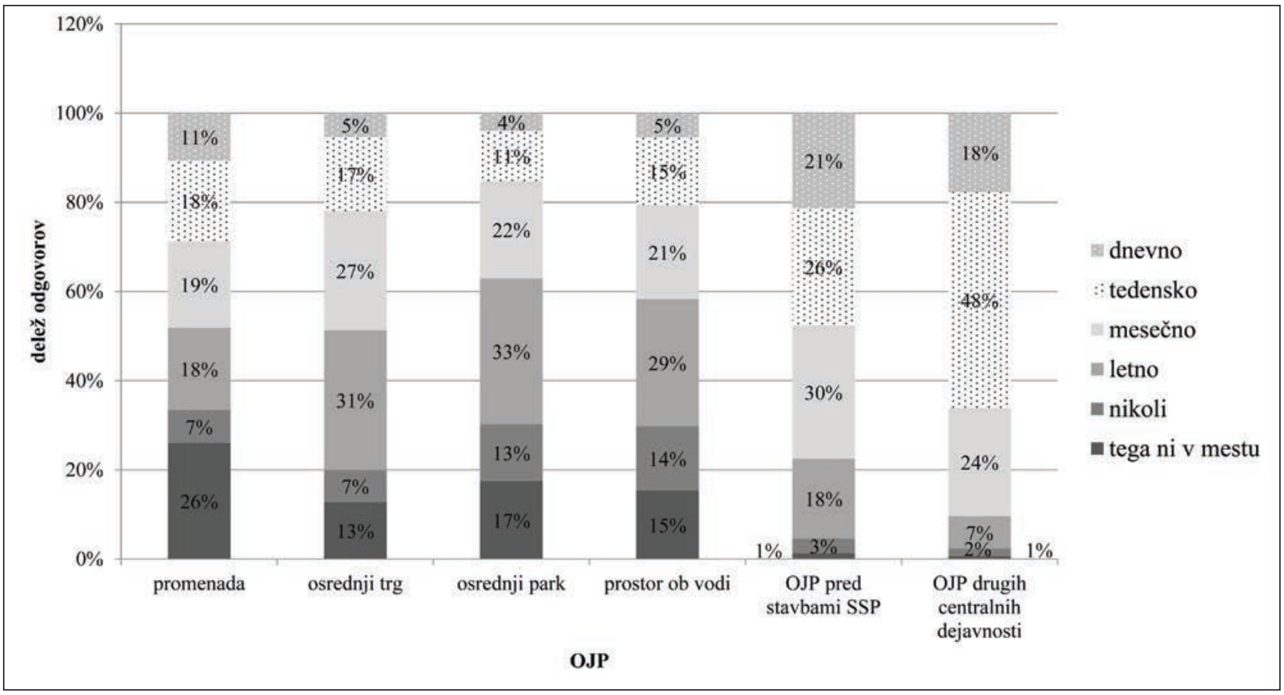
16 Javna uprava – pisarne in poslovni prostori državnih organov lokalnih skupnosti, namenjeni lastnemu poslovanju in poslovanju s strankami.

17 Del stavbe za predšolsko vzgojo ter osnovnošolsko in srednješolsko izobraževanje, vrtec, osnovna šola, srednja šola, gimnazija, jasli, del stavbe za poklicno izobraževanje, del stavbe za visokošolsko in univerzitetno izobraževanje, drugi podobni deli stavbe.

18 Nakupovalno središče, trgovski center, veleblagovnica, drugi podobni deli stavbe.



Slika 4: Prebivalci majhnih mest zelo različno ocenjujejo opremljenost središča mesta z OJP.
Figure 4: Residents of small towns have very different opinions about the provision of public open space in the city centre.



Slika 5: Tipi OJP, ki so prisotni v središčih majhnih mest, in povprečna pogostost njihove uporabe (v %).
Figure 5: Types of open public spaces in urban centres of small towns and the average frequency of their use (in %).

Preglednica 5: Povezanost med pogostostjo uporabe različnih vrst OJP in zadovoljstvom z bivanjem v mestu.
Table 5: Relationship between the frequency of use of different types of open public spaces and satisfaction with living in the city.

Urbani prostori	Promenada	Osrednji trg	Osrednji park	Prostor ob vodi	OJP v interakciji s SSP	OJP drugih centralnih dejavnosti
Zadovoljstvo z bivanjem v mestu	r = 0,68 p = 1,31*10^{-5}	r = 0,38 p = 0,029	r = 0,29 p = 0,096	r = 0,38 p = 0,028	r = 0,26 p = 0,138	r = 0,22 p = 0,221

Op.: (r = Pearsonov koeficient korelacije, p = vrednost p).

močno, povezanost med pogostostjo uporabe promenade in zadovoljstvom z bivanjem v mestu. Podobno je ugotovljena pozitivna linearna povezanost zadovoljstva z bivanjem v mestu s pogostostjo uporabe osrednjega trga, česar pa ne moremo trditi za povezanost med pogostostjo uporabe osrednjega parka v korelaciji s SSP ali drugimi centralnimi dejavnostmi (preglednica 5).

Rezultati sintezne analize so jasno pokazali, da se mesta med seboj razlikujejo. V drugem delu smo vseh 33 obravnavanih majhnih mest razvrstili glede na uporabljene kazalnike, predstavljene v metodološkem poglavju, v štiri skupine:

1. skupina: mesta s srednjeveško ali modernistično zasnovo, z dobro urejenim in z OJP dobro opremljenim središčem, kjer so prebivalci zelo zadovoljni z bivanjem v mestu (Kamnik, Radovljica, Slovenj Gradec, Slovenske Konjice, Škofja Loka, Velenje in Žalec);
2. skupina: mesta s srednjeveško zasnovo, s srednje dobro urejenim in z OJP srednje dobro opremljenim središčem, kjer so prebivalci zadovoljni z bivanjem v mestu (Brežice, Gornja Radgona, Idrija, Kočevje, Krško, Lenart v Slovenskih goricah, Lendava, Ljutomer, Ormož, Postojna, Sežana, Slovenska Bistrica, Šmarje pri Jelšah, Tolmin in Vrhnika); ta skupina je tudi najštevilčnejša;
3. skupina: mesta z modernistično zasnovo, s slabo urejenim in z OJP srednje dobro opremljenim središčem, kjer so prebivalci manj zadovoljni z bivanjem v mestu; izkazalo se je, da so edino mesto v tej skupini Trbovlje;
4. skupina: mesta s srednjeveško ali modernistično zasnovo, s slabo urejenim in z OJP slabo opremljenim središčem, kjer so prebivalci nezadovoljni z bivanjem v mestu (Ajdovščina, Cerknica, Črnomelj, Domžale, Grosuplje, Ilirska Bistrica, Litija, Sevnica, Šentjur, Trebnje).

ZAKLJUČEK

Z rezultati raziskave smo potrdili delovno hipotezo, da ima lokacija OJP v središču majhnih mest še vedno velik pomen in vlogo za zadovoljstvo z bivanjem v majhnih mestih. Omeniti velja podatek, da so mesta z OJP, še posebej s tlakovanimi površinami, opremljena zelo raznoliko (na primer trg pred SSP, osrednji trg v mestu, trg pred cerkvijo, tlakovana promenada, ulica, zaprta za promet). Iz tega lahko sklepamo, da tip OJP ni tako pomemben, kot je pomembno to, da je OJP v mestu sploh prisoten. Tudi tip izoblikovane zasnove mestnega središča (srednjeveški ali modernističen) nima velikega vpliva na pogostost uporabe OJP, saj so odgovori na anketna vprašanja pokazali, da prebivalci v vseh majhnih mestih najpogosteje uporabljajo OJP pred SSP (slika 5).

Rezultati so tudi pokazali, da so predvsem prebivalci majhnih mest z izoblikovano zasnovo in urejenim OJP bolj zadovoljni z bivanjem v mestu kot tisti, kjer ima središče mesta neizoblikovano zasnovo ter je v njem manj OJP, ki je tudi slabše opremljen. Izkazalo se je tudi, da na OJP v središču mesta ne potekajo zgolj nujne, temveč tudi izbirne dejavnosti, kar nakazuje, da prav interakcija med OJP in SSP nosi vlogo prostorskega in kulturnega razvoja in da dejansko soustvarjajo ter nadgrajujejo mestotvornost majhnih mest.

Čeprav so mesta s historično zasnovo z OJP bolje opremljena, je umeščenost SSP v njih velikokrat problematična (stari objekti, vprašanje dostopnosti, vlaganja v prenovo idr.). Hkrati se je pokazalo, da je z OJP bolje opremljeno novo urbano središče, ki je nastalo načrtovano. SSP, ki so se razvile kasneje, praviloma zavzemajo večje površine, česar v drobni strukturi srednjeveških mest ni mogoče dobro umestiti oziroma zahteva višje investicije. S tega vidika je metoda za opredelitev središča na podlagi prisotnosti OJP v interakciji s SSP primerna za nadaljnje raziskovanje mest, tudi z vidika upravljanja in urbane ekonomije v mestih. Dodatno razumevanje teh procesov bo utrdilo in omogočilo spremembe z uvajanjem ukrepov, s katerimi bi izboljšali stanje predvsem z vidika privlačnosti OJP za pešačenje, podobe mestnega središča, raznovrstnosti ponudbe in posodobitve SSP ter preprečitve selitve SSP na obrobje mest.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF OPEN PUBLIC SPACES IN SMALL CITY CENTRES FOR THE PROVISION OF SERVICES OF GENERAL INTERESTS

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SUMMARY

The article deals with the physical appearance, meaning and function of open public space (OPS) in the context of services of general interest (SGI) and its impact on the quality of life of inhabitants of small towns in Slovenia. Special emphasis is placed on the working hypothesis that, the OPS in interaction with SGI provide a higher quality of living while simultaneously helping to shape and promote the urban development of small towns. In the study, the cartographic method and the questionnaire were used, and the synthesis of both parts of the study was used, which additionally confirmed the working hypothesis. The results showed that cities are equipped with OPS in very different ways; they also differ in the physical appearance and function of the OPS, which impacts the satisfaction of living in the city. The frequency of their use is influenced by the design of the city centre, the arrangement of OPS and the provision of SGIs. The method of OPS research in interaction with SGI is suitable for further study of cities also from the point of view of urban governance and the urban economy, which will contribute to the decision-making on the OPS regulation to improve the attractiveness of the city centre and increase the supply and modernise SGI.

Keywords: function of open public space, services of general interest, centres of small towns, quality of living, Slovenia

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ANALIZA NAČRTOVANIH PROSTORSKIH POSEGOV V OBALNEM PASU SLOVENIJE Z VIDIKA PREOBRAZBE OBSTOJEČEGA STANJA

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IZVLEČEK

Na območju slovenskega obalnega pasu potekajo različni procesi načrtovanja. Na nacionalni ravni se pripravlja pomorski prostorski načrt za območje morja in obale, na lokalni pa nova generacija občinskih prostorskih aktov. V tem okviru so ključnega pomena posamezni interesi, njihovo usklajevanje in posledična prostorska materializacija. V raziskavi smo z deskriptivno in primerjalno metodo evidentirali obstoječe stanje v prostoru ter identificirali aktualne investicijske pobude. S podrobnejšo analizo smo opredelili njihove programske in prostorske značilnosti. Ugotovili smo, da gre v večini primerov za interes umeščanja turistične infrastrukture, ki sledi aktualnim poslovnim trendom. Velik obseg predvidenih projektov odpira vprašanja o širšem javnem interesu v tem območju in dileme o prevladi zgolj ene dejavnosti na račun drugih.

Ključne besede: obalni pas, prostorske oblike, posegi v prostoru, proces načrtovanja, javni interes

ANALISI DEGLI INTERVENTI SPAZIALI PIANIFICATI NELLA ZONA COSTIERA DELLA SLOVENIA DAL PUNTO DI VISTA DELLA TRASFORMAZIONE DELLA SITUAZIONE ESISTENTE

SINTESI

Nell'area della fascia costiera slovena si svolgono vari processi di pianificazione. A livello nazionale è in corso la preparazione del piano nazionale dell'ambiente marino. A livello comunale si progettano nuovi piani territoriali. In questo contesto, gli interessi individuali si pongono fondamentali, il loro coordinamento e le conseguenze nell' ambito di materializzazione nell' ambiente. Nella ricerca abbiamo registrato lo stato dello spazio esistente con un metodo descrittivo e comparativo inoltre abbiamo identificato gli attuali incentivi agli investimenti. Con un'analisi più dettagliata, abbiamo definito il loro programma e le caratteristiche territoriali. Si può dedurre che nella maggior parte dei casi si tratta di localizzare l'infrastruttura turistica che segue le attuali tendenze commerciali. L'ampia scala dei progetti previsti solleva interrogativi sull'interesse pubblico più ampio dell'area e il dilemma del dominio di una sola attività a scapito di altre.

Parole chiave: fascia costiera, forme territoriali, interventi territoriali, processo di pianificazione, interesse pubblico

UVOD

Obalni pas je območje, v katerega gravitira veliko število interesov. V njem se srečujeta morje in kopno kot dve prostorski entiteti z različnimi potenciali, ki določajo rabo zemljišč in način izvajanja posameznih dejavnosti v prostoru. Med ključne razvojne omejitve sodi ekološka občutljivost morskega okolja in fizična izoblikovanost obale. Zaradi ambientalne in gospodarske privlačnosti se v njem čedalje bolj soočata tudi javni in zasebni interes.

Slovenija zavzema manjši del obale severnega Jadrana. Prav zaradi omejene dimenzije in hkrati velikega gospodarskega, kulturološkega in ekološkega potenciala gre za prostor izjemnega pomena tako v lokalnem kot širšem nacionalnem smislu. Dolgotrajna prisotnost dejavnosti, povezanih z morskim okoljem, je v njej izoblikovala posebno prostorsko identiteto. Že Melik (1960) je temu prostoru določil stični, križiščni in prehodni značaj. V upravno- politični in planerski terminologiji ter kasneje tudi v širši javnosti se je po 2. svetovni vojni uveljavilo ime Obala (slovenska Obala), kot širši prostor vključno s priobalnimi zemljišči in oddaljenim zaledjem. Z vidika sprememb, ki jih je ta prostor doživljal, je ime razumljivo, vendar zgrešeno, saj se je urbanizacija usmerjala skoraj izključno na obalna mesta, kraji v zaledju pa so postali območje odseljevanja, stagnacije in vir delovne sile za razvijajoča se gospodarska središča ob morju (Ogrin, 2012). Prostorska identiteta je še v sedanjosti močno vezana na pojme Obala, Primorska in Istra (Rožac Darovec, 2003) ter tudi na kraj oziroma občino bivanja (Kerma & Plešec, 2001).

Današnji obalni pas zaznamuje preplet naravnih in grajenih obalnih sekvenc (Bricelj, 2003) in predstavlja sintezo hidroloških, krajinskih in antropogenih dejavnikov (CAMP, 2005).[1] Različne rabe prostora so obalno linijo v preteklosti pretežno utrjevale z namenom zagotavljanja učinkovitega dostopa do morja ali omejevanja vplivov morja na urbano okolje. Med tradicionalne posege v prostoru sodi zagotavljanje tehnoloških pogojev za izvajanje dejavnosti pomorskega prometa (Ažman Momirski, 2015), ribištva in obrambe, v sodobnem času pa načrtovanje posegov sledi potrebam varstva naravne in kulturne dediščine, turizma in rekreacije (Miculinič et al., 2018; Ažman Momirski, 2017). Tudi pri nas postaja aktualno raziskovanje pomena obalnega pasu pri omejevanju negativnih posledic podnebnih sprememb na urbano obalno okolje (Suau et al., 2015).

Zavedanje o ekoloških in družbenih tveganjih pri rabi morskega okolja je že pred desetletji vzpodbudilo potrebo po oblikovanju ustreznega pristopa pri načrtovanju dejavnosti v obalnem pasu (Taussik, 1997; Traveria Pinto, 2004; Maes, 2008). Na mednarodni ravni so bile za območje Sredozemlja sprejete številne zaveze,[2] ki posamezne države usmerjajo k zavestnemu varovanju in trajnostnemu upravljanju morja in obale. Med ključne akte sodi Barcelonske konvencija (1975), ki predstavlja temeljna izhodišča za trajnostno upravljanje morskega okolja in razvoj pomorskega prostorskega načrtovanja. Na njeni podlagi ter na podlagi vseh kasnejših dokumentov sta bila v minulemu desetletju sprejeta Protokol o celovitem upravljanju obalnih območij v Sredozemlju (ICZM – Protocol on Integrated Coastal Zone Management in the Mediterranean (2008)) ter Direktiva o pomorskem prostorskem načrtovanju (PPN Direktiva 2014/89/EU). Ta dva akta podrobneje izpostavljata potrebo po usklajenem načrtovanju dejavnosti na kopnem in morju ter potrebo po participativnem načrtovanju (González-Riancho et al., 2009), prek katerega se lahko uveljavi javni interes.

V stroki in praksi se še vedno razvijajo različni pristopi za učinkovito upravljanje obalnih območij (Allmendinger et al., 2002; Olsen, 2003) s ciljem uravnoteženja gospodarskega, družbenega in okoljskega razvoja (Huggett, 1998). V njih je večkrat izpostavljeno vprašanje učinkovitosti uveljavitve javnega interesa nad zasebnim. To velja tako za območje Sredozemlja (Alfasi, 2009) kot tudi širše (Buanes et al., 2004; Verovšek & Čavić, 2017).

V strokovni razpravi se večkrat omenja potreba po natančnem prepoznavanju javnega interesa (Campbell & Marshall, 2002) ter pomislek o dejanski zmožnosti prostorskega načrtovanja in ali naj se javni interes sploh vključuje v ustrezne razprave (Forester, 1993; Healey, 1997; Klosterman, 1980). Predhodno je treba javni interes ustrezno prepoznati in razumeti njegovo vlogo v procesu odločanja (Alexander, 2002) ter prepoznati deležnike kot nosilce javnega interesa (Buanes et al., 2004). Treby & Clark (2004) v smeri večje učinkovitosti posebej izpostavljata prav širino in intenziteto javne razprave ter potrebo po odmiku konvencionalnih praks načrtovanja k bolj fleksibilnim, ki lahko prepoznajo posamezne interese v prostoru.

Uresničevanje tako zasebnih kot javnih interesov v vsakem primeru spreminja podobo obalnih območij. Med aktualne izzive prostorskega načrtovanja sodi tudi odzivnost stroke in ostalih deležnikov na podnebne spremembe (O'Donnell & Gates, 2013) ter omejevanje potencialnih drugih konfliktnih situacij v procesu upravljanja dejavnosti, povezanih z morskim okoljem (Kay & Alder, 2005).

1 CAMP: Program upravljanja z obalnim območjem, CAMP Slovenija (glej Gabrijelčič et al., 2005).
2 UNEP – United Nations Environment Programme, MAP – Mediterranean Action Plan; MSDD – Mediterranean Strategy for Sustainable Development.

Obalni prostor na območju Slovenije se trenutno sooča s tremi, medsebojno soodvisnimi procesi prostorskega načrtovanja. Prvi proces je izdelava pomorskega prostorskega načrta (PPN), ki temelji na določbah direktive PPN in pogojuje rabo vodnih in kopnih zemljišč vseh štirih obalnih občin (Marsič, 2016). Drugi proces obsega izvajanje določb protokola ICZM, ki uvaja definicijo in dimenzijo obalnega pasu ter spremljajoče ukrepe, in to tako v okvir obstoječih prostorskih aktov kot v proces priprave novih (Bolčič, 2016). V tretji proces sodi priprava nove generacije občinskih prostorskih načrtov (OPN), s katerimi se bosta neposredno opredelila oziroma ponovno opredelila namenska raba in način urejanja priobalnih zemljišč (Čok, 2016).

V teh procesih se pripravljavci prostorskih aktov soočajo s številnimi izzivi in pobudami na področju planske in izvedbene opredelitve bodočega razvoja obalnega pasu (Čok & Bolčič, 2018). V naboru varstvenih in razvojnih interesov, ki gravitirajo v ožji obalni pas, se tako križajo interesi in smernice: a) lokalnih skupnosti in parcialnih deležnikov, b) nacionalni sektorski (razvojni in varstveni) interesi na področju rabe morja in obale, opredeljeni v Strategiji prostorskega razvoja Slovenije (2004), in c) mednarodne zaveze glede vzpostavitve celovitega načrtovanja na kopnem in morju ter zastopanosti javnega interesa, kot jih določata ICZM in PPN.

V tem okviru je treba z ustreznim pristopom in metodologijo: (1) na strateški ravni doseči splošni družbeni konsenz glede razvojne vizije prostora, (2) opredeliti nabor potencialnih posegov v prostor, ki sledijo razvojnim izhodiščem in ciljem, ter (3) na izvedbeni ravni pobude uskladiti z javnim interesom in formalnimi smernicami nosilcev urejanja prostora.

Glede na zelo omejene prostorske možnosti, veliko število interesov in pogoje varstva naravne in kulturne dediščine mora biti vsak nov poseg v prostor skrbno načrtovan in utemeljen. Sprejete odločitve bodo imele dolgoročne posledice za bodoče stanje v prostoru, zato je pri realizaciji posameznih pobud še posebej treba upoštevati (tudi) širši javni interes.

PROBLEM IN METODOLOGIJA

V Sloveniji je obalni pas referenčni primer soočanja razvojnih interesov (Čok, 2018). Pri izdelavi prostorskih aktov je treba usklajevati različne ravni načrtovanja, področne vidike in posledice, ki se neposredno zrcalijo tudi v namenski rabi zemljišč (Foški & Zavodnik Lamovšek, 2019). Obalne občine v fazi priprave OPN in PPN posedujejo veliko število investicijskih pobud za posege v prostoru, katerih realizacija lahko kvalitativno nadgradi obstoječe stanje ali – nasprotno – omeji prisotne dejavnosti ter strukturno preoblikuje prostor v neželeni smeri. Pobude prihajajo tako iz zasebnega kot javnega sektorja. V procesu načrtovanja je ključni izziv nabor kriterijev, na podlagi katerih se posamezna pobuda umesti v razvojne strategije in posledično realizira ali se z ustrezno utemeljitvijo zavrne. Upoštevanje vseh aktualnih pogojev (ZureP-2, ICZM, PPN idr.), ki narekujejo postopke sprejemanja aktov, je poseben strokovni in politični izziv. Posledice sprejetih odločitev bodo trajno spremenile stanje v prostoru in z umestitvijo določene rabe tudi formalno omejile možnosti za potencialno umeščanje ostalih. Na ta problem opozarjajo tudi že predhodno izdelane študije (CAMP, SHAPE,[3] SUPREME),[4] ki so bile usmerjene v izvajanje načel trajnostnega načrtovanja v obalnem pasu. V tem okviru so pomembna naslednja raziskovalna vprašanja:

- Kakšen je obstoječi delež pozidanih in nepozidanih površin v obalnem pasu?
- Kakšen je nabor aktualnih pobud za posege v obalnem pasu, kakšne vsebinske in oblikovne ureditve obsegajo?
- Kaj je javni interes v obalnem pasu?
- Ali so aktualne pobude skladne s strategijo prostorskega razvoja Slovenije,[5] določbami protokola ICZM in direktive PPN?

Hipoteza

Delež pozidanih zemljišč je že sedaj relativno velik in se bo glede na trende v bodoče še povečeval. V naboru aktualnih razvojnih pobud za območje obale, ki se pojavljajo v okviru priprave OPN in PPN, v vseh občinah prevladujejo projekti turistične in rekreacijske infrastrukture. Njihova realizacija bi bistveno spremenila obstoječe stanje v prostoru in omejila možnosti izvajanja drugih dejavnosti, povezanih z morskim okoljem, ki so tudi v javnem interesu.

Metodologija

Raziskava je bila usmerjena v analizo potencialih projektov na območju obalnega pasu (projekti oz. pobude v okviru priprave OPN, PPN, natečajni projekti ipd.), natančneje v njihovo vsebino, obseg in obliko, s katero se bo spremenilo stanje v prostoru. Pri tem je pomembna predhodna identifikacija obstoječega stanja in tudi presoja upoštevanja javnega interesa. Potekala je v štirih fazah.

3 SHAPE: Uskladitev režimov v 100-metrskem priobalnem pasu Jadranskega morja z zahtevami 8. člena protokola ICZM – Projekt SHAPE (glej Dalla Valle et al., 2014).

4 SUPREME: Pilotni projekt za pripravo osnutka pomorskega prostorskega načrta (PPN) za območje Slovenije (glej Plazar Mlakar & Čok, 2019).

5 Strategija prostorskega razvoja Slovenije (SPRS, 2004) je še vedno veljaven državni strateški prostorski akt. V pripravi je nova SPRS.

V **prvi fazi** smo opredelili časovni in prostorski okvir ter vire raziskovanja. Usmerili smo se na območje celotne slovenske obale (Občina Ankaran, Mestna občina Koper, Občina Izola, Občina Piran) in se omejili na štiri skupine virov:

- statistični podatki in prostorski podatkovni sloji (demografski podatki Statističnega urada Republike Slovenije, prostorske vektorske in rastrske podatkovne baze Geodetske uprave Republike Slovenije, Ministrstva za kmetijstvo, gozdarstvo in prehrano in Agencije Republike Slovenije za okolje),
- gradiva, ki so bila izdelana v okviru treh mednarodnih projektov s področja načrtovanja v obalnem pasu in obsegajo tudi območje Slovenije (CAMP, SHAPE, SUPREME),
- gradiva (pobude, strokovne podlage, razvojni osnutki, zapisniki delavnic fokusnih tematskih skupin[6] ipd.), ki so bila pridobljena ali izdelana v okviru priprave strategije prostorskega razvoja občine (SPRO), prostorskega reda občine (PRO) in OPN v vseh obalnih občinah (2005–2019),
- gradiva, ki so jih pripravile ali pridobile občine in ministrstva v okviru izdelave PPN (2016–2020).

V **drugi fazi** smo z deskriptivno metodo analizirali podatke in jih razvrstili v dve skupini.

V *prvi skupini* so podatki, ki prikazujejo stanje v prostoru z vidika strukturne tipologije (grajena ali naravna obala)[7] in prostorskega obsega obalnega pasu.[8] Vzpostavili smo geoinformacijsko okolje, v katerem smo združili, prikazali in opravili analizo posameznih prostorskih podatkovnih slojev (administrativne enote, namensko in dejansko rabo, zavarovana območja, DOF-e, enote urejanja prostora, prostorske sekvence itd.).

V *drugi skupini* so konkretne investicijske pobude, ki predstavljajo potencialne realizacije v prostoru. Sledila je kvalitativna ocena podatkov in opredelitev ožjega območja raziskovanja. Na podlagi razpoložljivih podatkov in z namenom karakterističnega prikaza obravnavane problematike smo omejili raziskovanje na obalni pas Občine Izola.

V tretji fazi smo analizirali posamezne pobude. Izvzeli smo tiste, ki so v procesu priprave OPN in PPN opredeljene kot potencialne pobude za dejansko realizacijo. Elementi analize so bili:

a.) prostorski obseg, oblika in program (z uporabo deskriptivne metode in programskega orodja ACAD),
b.) vpliv na prostor z vidika javnega interesa na podlagi predpostavljenih razvojnih ciljev (z uporabo deskriptivne metode),
c.) skladnost z usmeritvami ICZM in PPN (z uporabo primerjalne metode).

V sklepnem delu smo oblikovali sintezni tabelarični prikaz posameznih značilnosti in opredelili potencialni vpliv projekta na obstoječe stanje v prostoru (vizualni in programski).

V **četrti fazi** smo z uporabo primerjalne metode sintetizirali rezultate, podali sklepne ugotovitve in opredelili potencialne usmeritve za pripravo plana.

REZULTATI

Delež pozidanih in nepozidanih površin na območju obalnega pasu

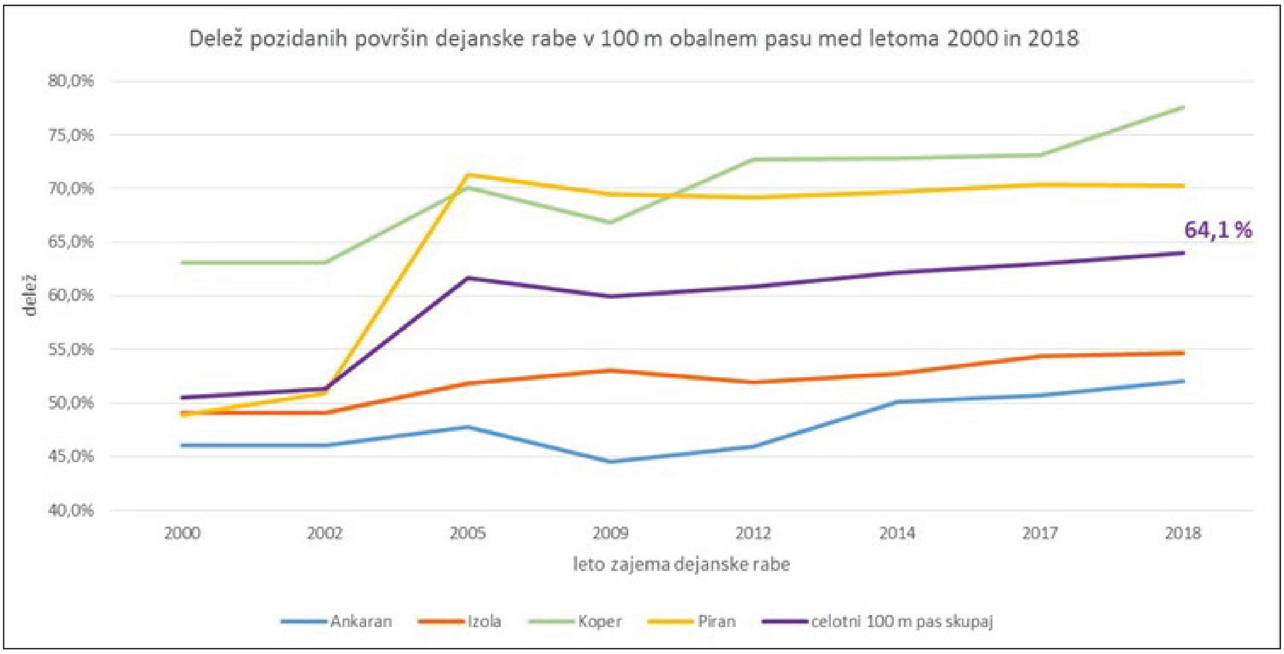
Obstoječa podoba slovenske obale je posledica dolgoletne litoralizacije, ki je tudi v ožjem obalnem pasu izoblikovala sedanji preplet grajenih posegov in naravnih prvin. V smeri identifikacije obstoječega stanja v prostoru smo v prvem delu raziskave preučevali pozidane in nepozidane površine ter poskušali opredeliti potenciale. To področje so v preteklosti na različne načine preučevali že drugi avtorji (glej naslednje poglavje), zato smo izdelali ažurirani presek stanja, ki zrcali obstoječo situacijo v prostoru.

Proučevanje je bilo usmerjeno v izhodiščni 100-metrski obalni pas, kot ga določa 8. člen protokola ICZM. V njem gradnja načeloma ni dovoljena oziroma le v posebnih primerih. Ugotovili smo, da celotni obalni pas obsega približno 410 ha, od katerega na občino Ankaran odpade 23,3 %, Koper 15,5 %, Izolo 20,0 % in Piran 41,2 %. V nadaljevanju smo izdelali GIS analizo podatkov dejanske rabe prostora (vir: Ministrstvo za kmetijstvo, gozdarstvo in prehrano), ki so na voljo za leta 2000, 2002, 2005, 2009, 2012, 2014, 2017 in zadnje stanje 2018. Znotraj 100-metrskega izhodiščnega obalnega pasu smo ugotavljali spremembe posameznih kategorij rabe. Izračuni kažejo, da je od vseh kategorij prav pozidana najbolj dinamična in v stalnem porastu (50,5 % leta 2000 do 64,1 % leta 2018), medtem ko ostale kategorije nazadujejo (izjema je le še rahel porast nasadov). Tudi

6 Fokusne tematske skupne so skupine predstavnikov posameznih resorjev, ki jih je ustanovilo Ministrstvo za okolje in prostor, z namenom sodelovanja pri pripravi SPRS 2050. Med petimi skupinami je tudi ena za področje morja in obale.

7 Grajene strukture na obali kot posledica delovanja človeka (antropogeno spremenjen prostor, prisotni grajeni elementi); naravne strukture pa so deli obale, v katero človek ni (bistveno) posegal (ni prisotnih vidnejših grajenih elementov), tu je ohranjen naravni videz (tipični primer so območja klifov).

8 Dolžina in širina obalne sekvence z enakimi ali podobnimi značilnostmi (širina praviloma 100 m, skladno s protokolom ICZM).



Slika 1: Delež pozidanih površin (dejanska raba) v izhodiščnem 100-metrskem obalnem pasu med letoma 2000 in 2018.
Figure 1: The share of built-up land (actual land use) in the baseline 100-metre coastal zone between 2000 and 2018.

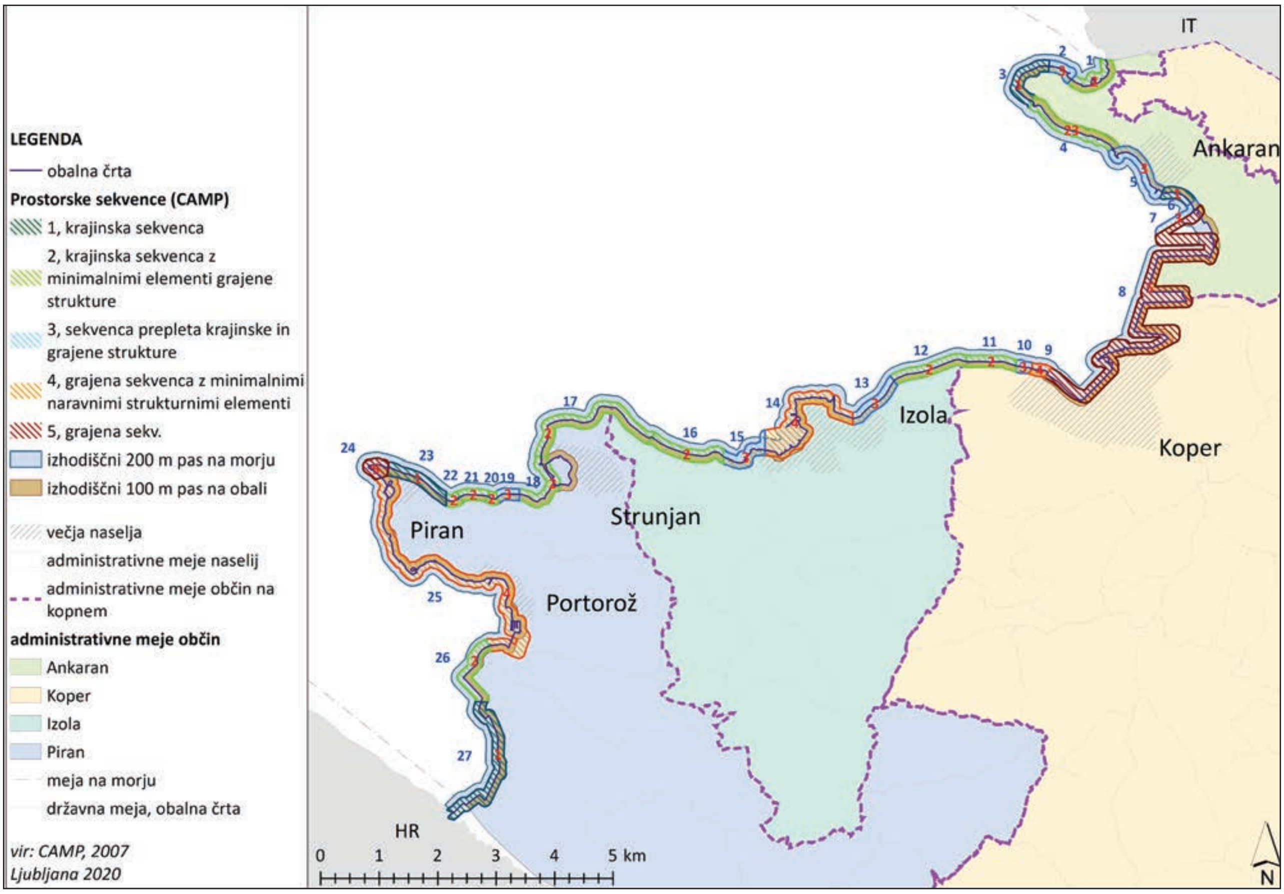
ločena analiza rabe znotraj 100-metrskega obalnega pasu v obalnih občinah jasno pokaže ne le na najvišje deleže, ampak tudi na pozitivno dinamiko sprememb urbane rabe. Pri tem najbolj izstopata občini Koper in Piran (slika 1).

Dosedanje strokovne prakse in pristopi na področju načrtovanja posegov v obalnem pasu

Da bi dosegli uravnotežen in trajnostni razvoj obalnega območja in kar se da omilili enostranske rabe prostora, so v okviru nekaterih preteklih projektov skušali avtorji prepoznati in kategorizirati različne tipe slovenske obale (CAMP – tipologija obalnih sekvenc s podobnimi značilnostmi) ter opredeliti upravne režime za izvajanje posameznih dejavnosti oziroma načrtovanje posegov v prostoru (SHAPE, SUPREME). Tipologija je temeljila na analizi prisotnih dejavnosti, grajenih in naravnih elementov, vegetacije, vizur v prostoru, omogočenega dostopa do morja in drugih strukturnih značilnosti. V teh projektih so sodelovale tudi zainteresirane skupine na lokalni, regionalni in državni ravni ter posamezniki, ki so imeli možnost udeležbe na delavnicah ali javnih predstavitvah.

V okviru projekta CAMP so si avtorji prizadevali, da bi občine in država pri načrtovanju in urejanju prostora v obalnem pasu uspele preseči obstoječi razkorak med nasprotno prakso parcialnega delovanja in vzdržno naravnano vizijo prostorskega razvoja. Rešitev so nakazali na več ravneh, in sicer so na eni strani podali strokovne usmeritve za razporeditev dejavnosti v prostoru in podrobnejša pravila za urejanje prostora v obalnem pasu ter na drugi strani predlagali usmeritve za pripravo regulativnega instrumentarija. V ta namen se je obalni prostor analiziral s pomočjo treh modelov: funkcijskega, percepcijskega in ekološkega. Izpostaviti velja percepcijski model, ki analizira vrednotenje prepoznavnosti obalnega pasu z vidika stopnje vizualnih značilnosti in omogoča celovit pogled na prostor in njegovo podobo. Obalni pas je bil razdeljen na 27 območij (slika 2), ki so ovrednotena z eno od petih kategorij oziroma prostorskih sekvenc: (1) krajinska sekvenca, (2) krajinska sekvenca z minimalnimi elementi grajene strukture, (3) sekvenca prepleta krajinske in grajene strukture, (4) grajena sekvenca z minimalnimi naravnimi strukturnimi elementi in (5) grajena sekvenca.

V času izdelave projekta CAMP protokol ICZM še ni obstajal. V okviru naše raziskave smo percepcijske sekvence pretvorili v prostorski podatek, jih uskladili s 100-metrskim izhodiščnim pasom ter jih analizirali z GIS (slika 2). Med sekvencami prevladujejo t. i. vmesne, prepletene sekvence, ki se pojavljajo v vseh štirih občinah in jih je največ, tj. 22. Grajenih ni v Občini Izola, naravnih pa ni v Izoli in Kopru. Od skupne dolžine obalne črte (meje štirih obalnih občin proti morju, 46.190 m) prav tako največji del pripada vmesnim sekvencam (67,6 %), sledijo ji grajene (20,3 %), najmanj pa je naravnih (12,1 %). Vse navedeno (slika 2,



Slika 2: Sintezni prikaz: kategorije prostorskih sekvenc percepcijskega modela CAMP, skupaj s 100-metrskim izhodiščnim pasom na kopnem (SHAPE).
Figure 2: Overview: Categories of spatial sequences of perception model CAMP, along with a 100-metre baseline coastal zone (SHAPE).

skupaj s podatki preglednice 1) kaže na visoko stopnjo že omenjene pozidanosti slovenske obale.

Podobno se je celovitega upravljanja obalnih območij lotil konzorcij avtorjev v okviru projekta SHAPE, kjer so skušali uskladiti režime v 100-metrskem priobalnem pasu. Priobalni pas je eden od instrumentov celovitega upravljanja, ki ga določa protokol ICZM, namenjen zagotovitvi trajnostne uporabe in upravljanja obalnih območij, da bi tako na obalnih območjih ohranili naravne habitate, krajino, naravne vire in ekosisteme v skladu z mednarodnimi in regionalnimi pravnimi instrumenti.

Priobalni pas se lahko po širini oziroma po strogosti omejitev gradnje prilagaja dejanskim razmeram in potrebam države. S projektom so avtorji želeli določiti potek priobalnega pasu in predlagati usmeritve za načrtovanje in gradnjo v njem. Izdelani sta bili dve različici (varianta A in B), ki se razlikujeta po vključenih območjih in posledično po površini. Priobalni pas po varianti A je po površini večji in vključuje zavarovana območja narave, površine celinskih voda, naravno obalo (klifi, gozdne površine), soline, kulturno krajino (kmetijska, gozdna zemljišča, razpršena poselitev), nekatera stavbna zemljišča (urbanizirana območja), plaže (naravne, deloma urejene plaže, kopališča) in morje (200-metrski pas). Ne vključuje pa območij veljavnih DPN, urbaniziranih območij (mestna jedra, hotelska območja in sorodna) ter pristanišč in marin. Varianta B vključuje manj območij. Od tistih v varianti A ne vključuje nekaterih stavbnih zemljišč in plaž, uvršča pa odprta območja. Neuvrščene površine so iste.

Tudi v tem primeru so bile prepoznane: (1) naravne, (2) delno naravne in (3) grajene enote urejanja prostora, skupaj 37. Njihova vsebinska opredelitev ter nadaljnja prostorska analiza znotraj posameznih obalnih občin nakazujeta izrazito urbanizacijo, saj je 57,8 % priobalnega pasu grajenega (slika 3, preglednica 2).

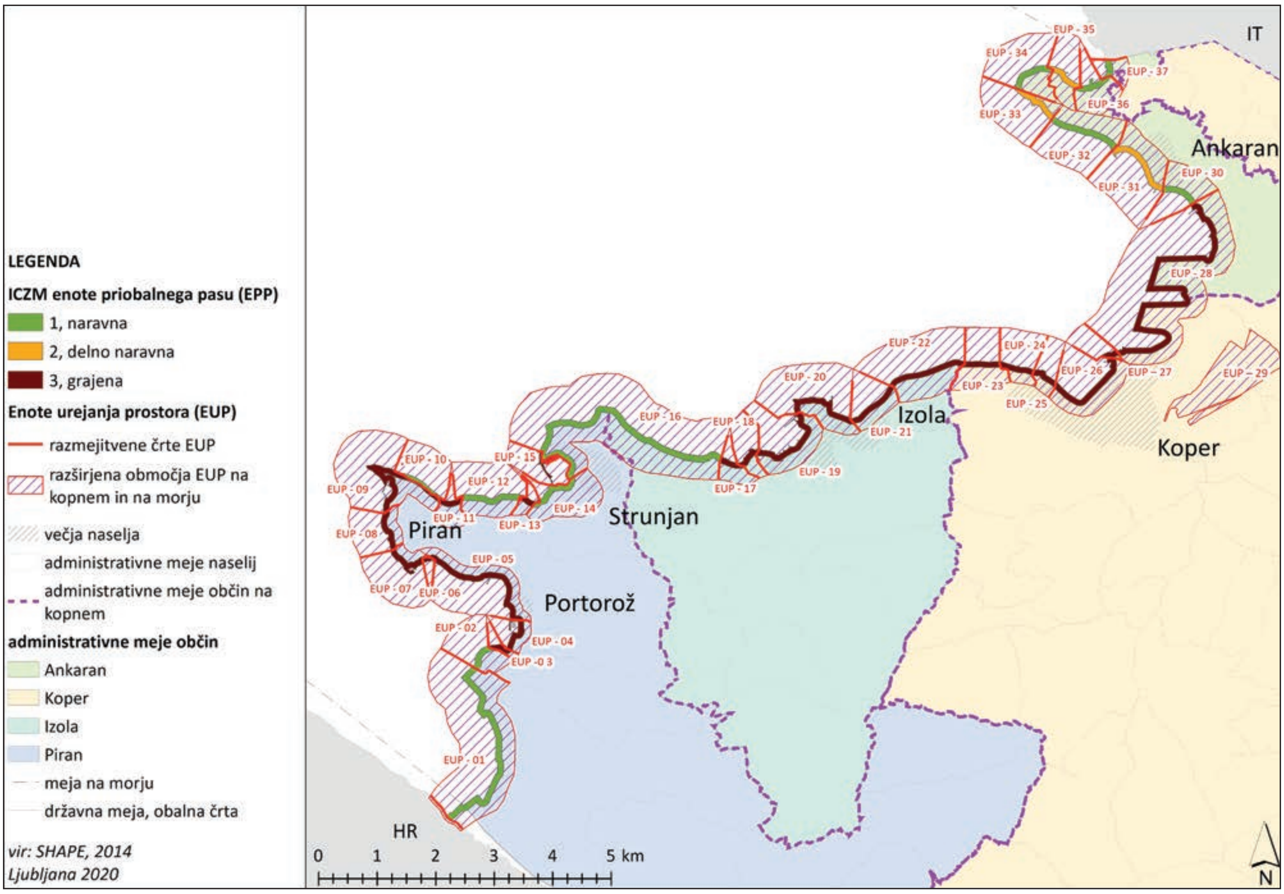
V obeh projektih je izražena strokovna težnja po razvoju celovitega upravljanja obalnih območij. Na podlagi rezultatov predstavljenih avtorjev in naših novih izračunov ugotavljamo, da je slovenski obalni pas že občutno urbaniziran. Še vedno pa obstajajo posamezne

Preglednica 1: Prostorska analiza obalnega pasu na podlagi prostorskih sekvenc percepcijskega modela analize prostora CAMP. * – številka v oklepaju ustreza zaporedni številki sekvence na Sliki 2. ** – skupno število prepoznanih sekvenc je 27, a se dve razdelita med več občin.
Table 1: Spatial analysis of the coastal zone based on spatial sequences of spatial analysis perception model CAMP. * – the number in brackets corresponds to the order number of sequences in Figure 2. ** – the total number of the identified sequences is 27; however, two of them are shared among several municipalities.

	Občina Ankaran	**Mestna občina Koper**	**Občina Izola**	**Občina Piran**	**Vsota in delež** sekvenc na celotni obali
Število krajinskih sekvenc (1)* / delež pripadajoče obalne črte v občini	2 16,2 %	0 0,0 %	0 0,0 %	2 20,4 %	4 12,1 %
Število krajinskih sekvenc z minimalnimi elementi grajene strukture (2)* / delež pripadajoče obalne črte v občini	1 11,9 %	1 12,2 %	3 36,8 %	6 32,3 %	11 25,6 %
Število sekvenc prepleta krajinske in grajene strukture (3)* / delež pripadajoče obalne črte v občini	4 41,0 %	1 4,5 %	2 19,9 %	1 2,1 %	8 15,0 %
Število grajenih sekvenc z minimalnimi naravnimi strukturnimi elementi (4)* / delež pripadajoče obalne črte v občini	0 00 %	1 4,5 %	1 48,3 %	1 41,7 %	3 27,0 %
Število grajenih sekvenc (1)* / delež pripadajoče obalne črte v občini	1 30,9 %	1 78,8 %	0 0,0 %	1 3,6 %	3 20,3 %
vsota sekvenc/ delež obalne črte v občini	8 100,0 %	4 100,0 %	6 100,0 %	11 100,0 %	29** 100,0 %

Preglednica 2: Prostorska analiza enot upravljanja prostora variante B 100-metrskega priobalnega pasu v obalnih občinah po protokolu ICZM (SHAPE). * – skupno število EUP je 37, a se ena razdeli med dve občini.
Table 2: Spatial analysis of spatial management units of variant B of the 100-metre coastal zone in coastal municipalities following the ICZM Protocol (SHAPE). * – the total number of units is 37; however, one unit is shared among two municipalities.

	Občina Ankaran	**Mestna občina Koper**	**Občina Izola**	**Občina Piran**	**Vsota in delež** EUP na celotni obali
Število naravnih EUP/ delež površine v občini	5 37,0 %	0 0,0 %	1 27,0 %	6 52,7 %	12 35,7 %
Število delno naravnih EUP/ delež površine v občini	3 27,6 %	0 0,0 %	0 0,0 %	0 0,0 %	31 6,4 %
Število grajenih EUP/ delež površine v občini	1 35,4 %	6 100,0 %	6 73,0 %	10 47,3 %	23 57,8 %
vsota EUP/ delež površine v občini	9 100,0 %	6 100,0 %	7 100,0 %	16 100,0 %	38* 100,0 %



Slika 3: Sintezni prikaz: enote urejanja prostora na podlagi SHAPE, varianta B, s prikazom delitve pri predstavitvi razvojnih pobud občin (gradivo PPN).[9]
Figure 3: Overview: Spatial management units according to SHAPE, variant B, showing the division in representation of development incentives of the municipalities (marine spatial planning material).[10]

sekvence, ki predstavljajo potencial za širitev obstoječih dejavnosti ali umeščanje novih, vendar so prostorske možnosti zelo omejene. Presek stanja utemeljuje potrebo po trajnostnem upravljanju prostora kot omejenega vira.

a.) V analizi dosedanjih pristopov za načrtovanje v obalnem pasu smo prepoznali tri metodološko različne pristope:
b.) percepcijski pristop (CAMP), ki izpostavlja pomen obstoječega stanja oziroma varovanje vizualnih in programskih kvalitet,
c.) celostni pristop ICZM (SHAPE), ki zagovarja potrebo po usklajenem načrtovanju dejavnosti na kopnem in morju (namenska raba kot model) ter uvaja njegovo fizično dimenzijo,
d.) razvojni pristop (SUPREME, OPN, PPN), ki temelji na prioritetah aktualnih investicijskih pobud.

V vseh primerih gre za zavedanje o širšem pomenu obale in upoštevanje veljavnih varstvenih režimov. Njihova raznolikost pa vendarle opozarja na različne predstave o vrednotah, viziji razvoja in načinu upravljanja tega območja.

Javni interes v obalnem pasu

V pregledu in analizi referenčnega gradiva (direktive, protokoli, strateški in izvedbeni dokumenti, zapisniki javnih razprav itd.) ter obstoječih raziskav s tega področja (Hugget, 1998; Buanes et al., 2004) smo

9 V okviru projekta SHAPE so avtorji skladno s smernicami protokola ICZM razdelili slovensko obalo na enote priobalnega pasu (EPP). V okviru raziskav in gradiva priprave pomorskega prostorskega načrta so omenjene enote (EPP) razdeljene še na enote urejanja prostora (EUP).

10 Under the SHAPE projects, the authors divided the Slovenian coast into coastal zone units, in line with the Integrated Coastal Zone Management (ICZM) Protocol guidelines. In the context of the studies and materials used in marine spatial planning, the coastal zone units are also divided into spatial planning units.

Preglednica 3: Evidentirane pobude oz. projekti v obalnih občinah.
Table 3: Recorded initiatives and projects in littoral municipalities.

Občina Ankaran	Mestna občina Koper	Občina Izola	Občina Piran
1. Debeli rtič – ureditev plaže 2. Lazaret – ureditev plaže 3. Valdoltra – ureditev plaže, komunalni privezi 4. Katarina – ureditev plaže, komunalni privezi 5. DPN pristanišče Koper Op.: ostalih pobud ni bilo mogoče natančno identificirati	1. ureditev obale med Žusterno in mejo z Občino Izola 2. kopališče Žusterna – povečanje v morje 3. marina Koper (lokacijski načrt) začasna ureditev plaže – nasutje v morje 4. podaljšanje glavnega pomola 5. DPN pristanišče Koper Op.: ostalih pobud ni bilo mogoče natančno identificirati	1. začasna sidrišča 2. Belvederske terase 3. San Simon 4. območje Delfin 5. marina Izola 6. Lungomare svetilnik Izola 7. območje Delamaris 8. Viližanski zaliv 9. obalna cesta in otok Viližan Op.: pobude pokrivajo praktično celotno obalno linijo občine Izola in so natančno opredeljene	1. Seča – plaža s pomoli 2. Lucija – širitev marine Portorož 3. Portorož – plaža s pomoli 4. Skladišča soli Portorož – plaža s pomoli, komunalni privezi 5. Bernardin – plaža s pomoli 6. Fornače Piranska vrata – plaža s pomoli 7. Piran mesto – plaže s pomoli, širitev komunalnih privezov 8. Fiesa – plaža s pomoli, komunalni privezi 9. Pacug – plaža s pomoli 10. Salinera – pomol pristan 11. Strunjan – komunalni privezi, plaža s pomoli Op.: ostalih pobud ni bilo mogoče natančno identificirati

zabeležili širok razpon formalno in neformalno izraženih ciljev javnega interesa v obalnem pasu. Na planski ravni se javni interes izraža predvsem kot »uravnoteženost razvoja vseh zaželenih dejavnosti, vezanih na morje (promet, turizem, vzpostavljanje zelenih površin mesta, namenjenih prebivalcem in obiskovalcem, marikultura, ribištvo, obramba, varstvo narave in kulturne dediščine, raziskovanje …), brez prevlade zgolj ene od dejavnosti oziroma ciljev ene od interesnih skupin«, ob sodelovanju javnosti pri načrtovanju ter ciljnem izboljšanju stanja morskega okolja in obale.

Iz nabora podrobnejše opredeljenih ciljev na izvedbeni ravni smo opredelili devet takšnih, ki so največkrat izraženi in utemeljeni oziroma se največkrat pojavljajo v procesih priprave prostorskih izvedbenih aktov slovenskih obalnih občin: (1) izključne dejavnosti, povezane z morskim okoljem (tj. umeščanje zgolj tistih dejavnosti in njihove infrastrukture, ki jih zaradi nujne prisotnosti morja ni mogoče izvajati nikjer drugje), (2) ohranitev javne dostopnosti morja in obale, (3) ohranjen ali izboljšan vizualni stik z morjem ter ohranitev krajinske slike z morja in na morje, (4) izboljšana oblikovna ali funkcionalna zasnova prostorskih ureditev, (5) ohranitev naravne ali obstoječe utrjene podobe obale (brez gradnje stavb), (6) posegi, ki ne ogrožajo naravne in kulturne dediščine, (7) višanje kakovosti bivanja stalnih prebivalcev, (8) »počasna« mobilnost (varnost ter odsotnost hrupa in emisij), (9) pomorski javni potniški promet (vstopne točke). V nadaljevanju raziskave smo navedeni nabor ciljev uporabili pri analizi posameznih pobud.

Evidenca in valorizacija stanja na področju obstoječih pobud – identifikacija razvojnih pobud

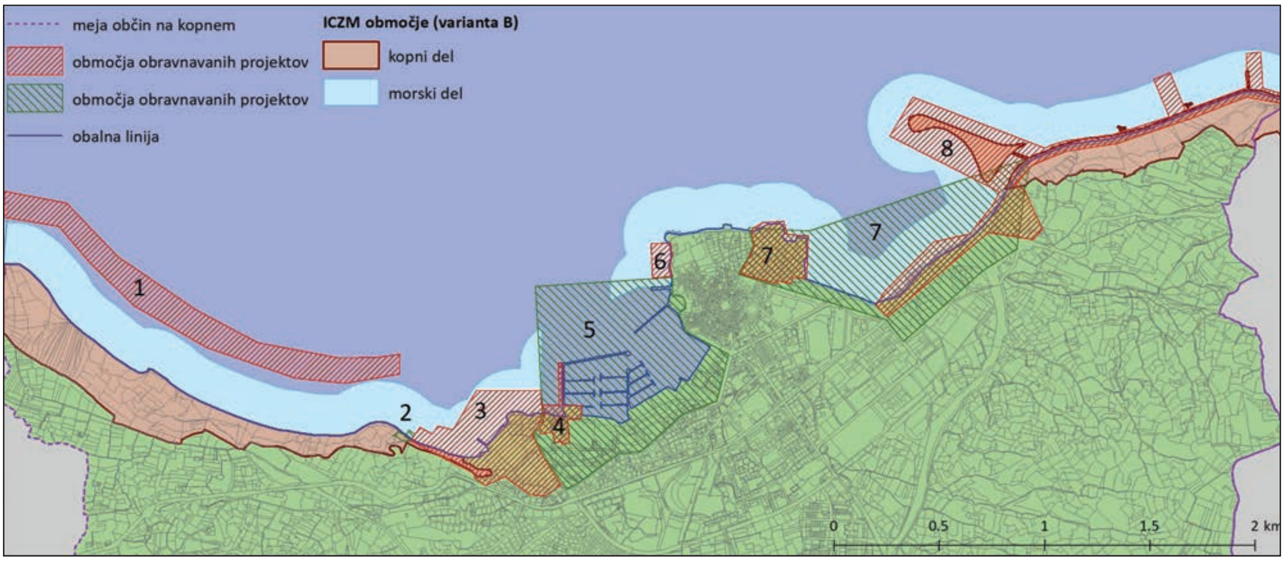
V okviru identifikacije obstoječih pobud za posege v obalnem pasu smo opredelili dve skupini:
a. sektorske pobude, podane v okviru priprave PPN. S podrobno vsebinsko analizo smo ugotovili, da gre predvsem za:

a.) pobude, locirane na vodnih zemljiščih morja (premeščanje mulja na morskem dnu, širitev območij marikulture, revizija plovnih koridorjev in sidrišč itd.),
b.) pobude varstva naravne in kulturne dediščine.

Njihova potencialna realizacija praktično ne spreminja stanja prostora v obalnem pasu. Med tiste pobude, ki ga potencialno spreminjajo, sodijo zlasti pobude lokalne skupnosti, ki v strukturi PPN sodijo v področje urbanega razvoja.

b. pobude na ravni lokalnih skupnosti, podane v procesu priprave OPN in PPN (preglednica 3):

- *Občina Ankaran:* kot novonastala obalna občina je v fazi izoblikovanja lastne razvojne strategije. V obravnavanem gradivu (osnutek



Slika 4: Območja obravnavanih projektov v obalnem pasu Občine Izola (shematičen prikaz).
Figure 4: Sites of the projects being considered in the Municipality of Izola coastal zone (schematic representation).

OPN) smo na območju obalnega pasu opredelili pet projektov, od tega štiri s področja turizma in rekreacije, enega s področja pomorskega prometa. Vsi posegajo delno na kopna in delno na vodna zemljišča.

- *Mestna občina Koper:* je v bližji preteklosti že realizirala določene projekte v obalnem pasu. V obravnavanem gradivu smo prepoznali pet novih, tri s področja turizma in rekreacije, dva s področja pomorskega prometa. Od tega vsi posegajo v vodna zemljišča, štiri pa tudi na kopna.
- *Občina Izola:* v obravnavanem gradivu smo prepoznali devet zelo natančno opredeljenih projektov, pri čemer so praktično vsi s področja turizma in rekreacije. Šest jih posega na vodna in kopna zemljišča, dva od njih samo na vodna in eden samo na kopna zemljišča.
- *Občina Piran:* v obravnavanem gradivu smo prepoznali 11 projektov, pri čemer so vsi s področja turizma in rekreacije. Vsi posegajo na vodna zemljišča, šest od njih pa tudi na kopna.

V občinah Ankaran, Piran in Mestni občini Koper obstajajo tudi druge pobude oz. projekti, vendar jih zaradi pomanjkljivih podatkov ni bilo mogoče tako natančno identificirali (po vsebini, obliki in obsegu), da bi jih lahko analitično podrobneje obravnavali. Na podlagi te omejitve smo se v nadaljevanju raziskave omejili na obalo Občine Izola, za katero smo izvedli podrobnejšo analizo aktualnih pobud.

Čeprav v naboru niso zajete čisto vse pobude (pomanjkljivost razpoložljivih podatkov), je vzorec dovolj reprezentativen, da lahko ugotovimo pretežno prisotnost pobud s področja turizma in rekreacije praktično na celotnem območju slovenskega obalnega pasu.

Potencialni projekti v obalnem pasu občine Izola – programske in oblikovne značilnosti

Obalni pas v občini Izola smo razdelili na osem analitičnih območij (slika 4), v katerem smo evidentirali posamezne pobude. Od zahoda proti vzhodu si sledijo naslednja območja z identificiranimi projekti: 1. začasna sidrišča za privez plovil, 2. Belvederske terase, 3. San Simon, 4. območje Delfin, 5. marina Izola, 6. Lungomare svetilnik Izola, 7. kompleks Delamaris, 7. Viližanski zaliv, 8. območje obalne ceste in otok Viližan.

Sintezna slika (slika 4) prikazuje tudi obseg izhodiščnega pasu ICZM v odnosu do obravnavanih območij. Pri tem je treba poudariti, da ICZM (aktualna varianta B) iz izhodiščnega pasu izvzema urbana območja, marine in pristanišča, kar pomeni, da se usklajevanje rabe na morju in kopnem na teh območjih ne izvaja skladno z določbami protokola.

S podrobnejšimi analizami prostorske zasnove, programa in rabe prostora (preglednici 4 in 5) ter z izračunom fizičnih dimenzij, oceno potencialnih vizualnih sprememb v odnosu na obstoječe stanje, presojo izvedljivosti projektov skladno z določbami obstoječih aktov ter oceno upoštevanja javnega interesa (preglednica 6) smo opredelili njihove posamezne strukturne značilnosti.

Ugotovili smo naslednje:

- Praktično vseh devet projektov sodi v programsko področje »turizma in rekreacije«, štirje med njimi pa še dodatno v področje »urbanega razvoja«.
- Alternativne možnosti: z analizo predvidenih in potencialnih drugih programov v obravnavanih osmih območjih smo ugotovili, da bi bilo na posameznih lokacijah mogoče umestiti tudi druge alternativne rabe, predvsem infrastrukturo oz. tehnologijo na kopnem za potrebe izvajanja dejavnosti »ribištva« in »marikulture« (pristajalni pomoli, dvigala itd.), infrastrukturo za potrebe »pomorskega prometa« (javni potniški promet, navtika itd.), posege ali ukrepe za predstavitev »naravne« ali »kulturne dediščine« in dodatne rabe s področja »urbanega razvoja«.
- V oblikovnem smislu gre v večini primerov za posege v obliki utrjevanja površin na kopnem z namenom funkcionalne in vizualne nadgradnje obstoječega stanja. Posegi v vodna zemljišča so pretežno v obliki novih pomolov, v enem primeru gre za umestitev polja začasnih sidrnih plovkov, v območju 7 je predvidena obsežna plavajoča struktura, v območju 8 pa umetni otok. Ostali posegi (Bernardinske terase, San Simon, marina Izola, Lungomare) predvsem preoblikujejo obstoječe stanje, večji vizualni poseg predstavlja kompleks Delamaris, ki predvideva kompaktno grajeno strukturo neposredno v obalnem pasu.
- Skupni seštevek dolžin obalnih sekvenc posameznih projektov znaša 4.600 m, kar predstavlja 58 % celotne obalne linije Občine Izola (7.935 m). Skupni seštevek posegov na kopna zemljišča znaša 444.850 m², na vodna zemljišča pa še 155.100 m². Na podlagi teh podatkov predpostavljamo, da bi njihova potencialna realizacija, ne glede na oblikovno zasnovo, bistveno spremenila podobo obalnega pasu v primerjavi z obstoječim stanjem.

Med obstoječimi projekti sta dva izvedljiva že po določbah obstoječih prostorskih aktov, eden pa delno. Štirje med njim so bili že javno predstavljeni, za dva pa je bila tudi podana možnost javne participacije v obliki podajanja pripomb in dopolnitev v okviru javne razgrnitve in javne razprave:

- Upoštevanje javnega interesa se v večini primerov izraža kot: (1) umeščanje izključnih dejavnosti, povezanih z morskim okoljem in (2) ohranitev javne dostopnosti do morja in obale ter v (4) izboljšani funkcionalni in oblikovni zasnovi prostorskih ureditev. Manjkrat oz. v omejenem obsegu pa je zastopan javni interes na področju: (5) ohranitve naravne ali obstoječe podobe obale, (7) možnosti višanja kakovosti bivanja stalnih prebivalcev in (9) odsotnosti infrastrukture za pomorski javni potniški promet. V enem primeru gre tudi za umeščanje dejavnosti (1), ki ni nujno prisotna na območju obalnega pasu.

Na podlagi navedenega ugotavljamo, da gre praktično na celotni obalni liniji za težnjo po popolni mobilizaciji obalnega pasu v turistične oz. rekreativne namene (preglednici 3, 4). V aktualnih družbenih pogojih in ob evidentni rasti turistične industrije je ta ambicija tudi razumljiva in utemeljena z vidika javnega interesa. Vseeno pa je treba razumeti in upoštevati celotni okvir potencialnih rab, ki se lahko realizirajo le v obalnem pasu. Tudi prisotnost tradicionalnih dejavnosti in njihove infrastrukture, kot so ribištvo, marikultura, navtika in pomorski promet, potrebujejo svoje mesto v tem prostoru. V aktualnih in bodočih procesih načrtovanja vidimo predvsem pripravo PPN kot dodatno priložnost za razmislek o:

1. nevarnosti prevlade posamezne dejavnosti v odnosu do ostalih,
2. negativnem odzivu javnosti na popolno vizualno preobrazbo obalnega prostora,
3. dolgoročnem učinku zasebnega kapitala v območju obalnega javnega prostora in potencialni nevarnosti za revizijo obsega javnega dobra,
4. oceni dolgoročnega vpliva posamezne rabe na širši gospodarski in družbeni kontekst,
5. presoji o potrebni rezervaciji določenih obalnih sekvenc za potencialne bodoče rabe (dolgoročni vidik).

RAZPRAVA

Delež pozidanih površin v obalnem pasu Slovenije je že sedaj izredno velik (64,1 %). Med državami Evropske unije statistično sodimo skoraj v sam vrh, večji delež ima le Belgija (EEA, 2006).

V naboru aktualnih investicijskih pobud za posege v obalnem pasu prevladujejo projekti turistične in rekreacijske infrastrukture. Njihova realizacija bo povzročila dodatno grajeno strukturo (grajena obala) in bistveno spremenila obstoječe stanje v prostoru. To ugotovitev lahko povsem utemeljimo vsaj za območje Občine Izola, vendar tudi evidentirane pobude v ostalih treh občinah, kljub pomanjkljivim podatkom, predstavljajo dovolj reprezentativen vzorec, da lahko z veliko gotovostjo potrdimo prvi del hipoteze.

Preglednica 4: Pobude za posege v obalni pas (zahodni del).
Table 4: Initiatives for coastal zone developments (western part).

Območje št. Projekt/naziv Vir	Zasnova/načrt	Vsebina/program	Materialna pojavnost in oblika	Raba po strukturi PPN [11]	Potencialna druga raba po strukturi PPN
Območje 1 **Začasna sidrišča za privez plovil**		- sidrne plovke za začasni privez turističnih plovil v morju in naravna obala na kopnem	- polje sidrnih plovk	(10) turizem in rekreacija	(2) ribištvo (6) območja za varovanje narave in ohranjanje vrst
Območje 2 **Belvederske terase**		- razširitev in podaljšanje pomola ter povečanje s plavajočimi pomoli za potrebe kopalcev in vodnih športov - ureditev zunanjih površin plaže z manjšimi objekti	- leseni pomol - plavajoča struktura - utrditev odprtih površin plaže	(10) turizem in rekreacija	(1) marikultura (tehnologija na kopnem) (4) pomorski promet (infrastruktura, pristajalni pomoli za JPP) (11) kulturna dediščina (v morju)
Območje 3 **San Simon**		- Lungomare ob morju - pomoli za kopanje v morju - predstavitev arheološke dediščine na kopnem in v morju - turizem in rekreacija na kopnem	- novi (leseni) kopalni pomoli med San Simonom in Belvederjem - utrditev odprtih in ureditev zelenih površin ob obalni črti za kopališče in odlikovanje športnih igrišč - umestitev objektov	(10) turizem in rekreacija	(12) urbani razvoj (11) kulturna dediščina (v morju)
Območje 4 **Območje Delfin – urbanistična idejna zasnova območja Delfin Izola**		- ureditev plaže Delfinček - nov pomol za potrebe kopalcev - ureditev obalne sekvence na zunanji strani pomola marine Izola za kopanje - širitev hotelskih kapacitet na kopenskem delu	- ureditev plaže z novo pritlično stavbo in nova zunanja ureditev - grajena obala - na kopenskem delu nove stavbe (hotelske kapacitete) - novi pomoli za kopanje širitev površin v morje na zunanji strani pomola marine, urejenih za plažo	(10) turizem in rekreacija (12) urbani razvoj	(11) kulturna dediščina (v morju)

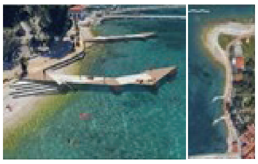
Pri identifikaciji javnega interesa smo prepoznali velik nabor ciljev, ki so pretežno usmerjeni v ohranitev obstoječih pravic (nemoten dostop do morja, vizualni stik z morjem, prisotnost dejavnosti, povezanih z morskim okoljem itd.) ali interes po kvalitativni nadgradnji obstoječega stanja (izboljšanje funkcionalne in oblikovne zasnove, nove vsebine itd.).

S podrobno analizo posameznih pobud na območju Izole in s primerjavo njihovih programskih in oblikovnih značilnosti z določbami SPRS, ICZM in PPN smo evidentirali določen odklon predvsem pri programski monotonosti (izključne rabe), manj na področju upoštevanja javnega interesa ali nezadostnega vključevanja javnosti v postopke planiranja in načrtovanja. V tem primeru gre lahko za odklon ali zgolj različne interpretacije glede strateških ciljev in javnega interesa. V tem smislu lahko na podlagi parcialnih rezultatov raziskave le delno potrdimo drugi del hipoteze.

S podobnimi trendi na področju urbanizacije obale se srečujejo tudi ostale države Sredozemlja. Na pritisk turistične industrije in njenih negativnih posledic v obalnem pasu opozarja italijanski razi-

11 Dejavnosti po PPN: (1) marikultura, (2) ribištvo, (3) obrati in infrastruktura za raziskovanje, izkoriščanje in črpanje nafte, plina in drugih virov energije, rudnin in agregatov in proizvodnjo energije iz obnovljivih virov, (4) pomorske prometne poti, prometni tokovi in dejavnosti pomorskega prometa, (5) dejavnosti ministrstva, pristojnega za obrambo, (6) območja za varovanje narave in ohranjanje vrst, (7) območja izkoriščanja surovin, (8) znanstvene raziskave, (9) podmorski kabli in cevovodi, (10) turizem in rekreacija, (11) kulturna dediščina, (12) urbani razvoj.

Preglednica 5: Pobude za posege v obalni pas (vzhodni del).
Table 5: Initiatives for coastal zone developments (eastern part).

Območje Projekt Vir	Zasnova/načrt	Vsebina/program	Materialna pojavnost in oblika	Raba po strukturi PPN	Potencialna druga raba po strukturi PPN
Območje 5 **Marina Izola**		- širitev privezov marine Izola in širitev komunalnih privezov Občine Izola - preoblikovana obala in promenada	- podaljšanje glavnega pomola kot valobran - novi pomoli za priveze marine Izola, novi pomoli za komunalne priveze Občine Izola - grajena obala - ureditev zelenih površin in Lungomare ob obalni črti	(10) turizem in rekreacija (12) urbani razvoj	(1) marikultura (tehnologija na kopnem) (2) ribištvo (tehnologija na kopnem) (11) kulturna dediščina (na kopnem)
Območje 6 **Lungomare svetilnik Izola - ureditev obale med glavnim pomolom in svetilnikom**		- ureditev plaže - pomoli za kopanje	- fizična ureditev obalne linije z novimi površinami za kopanje in novi pomoli - ureditev mestne plaže, svetilnik z manjšimi arhitekturnimi intervencijami (zunanje ureditve)	(10) turizem in rekreacija (12) urbani razvoj	(11) kulturna dediščina (na kopnem)
Območje 7 **Kompleks Delamaris: turistični kompleks »odprtega tipa«**		- turistični kompleks z nastanitvenimi kapacitetami s prepletom javnega programa - obalna črta, urejena kot kopališča z bazeni in plažo	- karejska pozidava z vmesnimi razširitvami v trge in zelene površine, višinsko P + 2 do P + 3 - obalna črta kot grajena obala s plažo in bazeni	(10) turizem in rekreacija (12) urbani razvoj	(1) marikultura (tehnologija na kopnem) (2) ribištvo (tehnologija na kopnem) (4) pomorski promet (5) dejavnosti ministrstva, pristojnega za obrambo (11) kulturna dediščina (na kopnem)
Območje 7 **Ureditev Viližanskega zaliva**		- ureditev obalnega pasu med svetilnikom in Rudo - plavajoče strukture v morju za kopališča - turizem in rekreacija kot prioriteta v obalnem pasu	- plavajoče kompaktne strukture v morju Viližanskega zaliva - grajena obala - ureditev kopališča v celotnem Viližanskem zalivu na novih površinah v morju - ureditev športnih površin — športnih igrišč v obalnem pasu območja kampa Jadranka in Rude	(10) turizem in rekreacija	(1) marikultura (tehnologija na kopnem) (2) ribištvo (4) pomorski promet (9) podmorski cevovodi (11) kulturna dediščina
Območje 8 **Ureditev območja obalne ceste in otok Viližan**		- ureditev obale med Jadranko in mejo z MOK - nove površine v morju za kopališča Jadranka - ureditev območja Rude: turizem rekreacija in predstavitev arheološke dediščine - nove površine za kopanje z umestitvijo otoka na zahodnem delu zaliva Viližan - nove površine za kopanje ob bivši obalni cesti	- grajena obala - nove površine v morju - ureditev območja Rude v morju - arhitekturne intervencije za predstavitev arheološke dediščine - umestitev otoka na zahodnem delu zaliva Viližan kot valobran in površine za kopanje, urejeno samo kot odprte zelene površine, - zunanje ureditve obalne ceste (kopališče z dvema novima pomoloma za kopanje in infrastrukturo za kopališče)	(10) turizem in rekreacija	(1) marikultura (tehnologija na kopnem) (2) ribištvo (tehnologija na kopnem) (4) pomorski promet (infrastruktura, pristajalni pomoli za JPP) (11) kulturna dediščina (predstavitev arheološke dediščine v morju in na kopnem)

Preglednica 6: Sintezni prikaz posameznih značilnosti obravnavanih projektov. * – marina Izola je delno že izveden projekt, vendar samo na morju, na kopnem pa ne, ker za to še ni izdelan prostorski izvedbeni akt. ** – še nerealizirano. *** – posamezna območja se medsebojno prekrivajo, prekrite površine in dolžine so v skupnem seštevku upoštevane samo enkrat.
Table 6: Overview of various characteristics of the projects being considered. * – Marina Izola is a partially implemented project, but only the offshore part, as the implementing spatial planning document has not been decided upon for the onshore part. ** – not implemented yet. *** – individual areas overlap, the overlapping areas/lengths are considered only once in the overall total.

Območje št.	Projekt	Dolžina (m) sekvence	Poseg v kopni del (m²)	Poseg v morski del (m²)	Programska sprememba v odnosu do obstoječega stanja	Vizualna sprememba v odnosu do obstoječega stanja		Sprememba iz naravnega v grajeno (poseg na morju/na obalni črti)		Izvedljivost po obstoječih prostorskih aktih	Javni interes/potencialni cilji: - (1) izključne dejavnosti povezane z morskim okoljem: umeščanje zgolj tistih dejavnosti in njihove infrastrukture, ki jih zaradi nujne prisotnosti morja ni mogoče izvajati nikjer drugje - (2) ohranitev javne dostopnosti morja in obale - (3) ohranjen ali izboljšan vizualni stik z morjem - (4) izboljšana oblikovna in funkcionalna zasnova prostorskih ureditev - (5) ohranitev naravne ali obstoječe utrjene podobe obale (brez gradnje stavb) - (6) posegi, ki ne ogrožajo naravne in kulturne dediščine - (7) višanje kakovosti bivanja stalnih prebivalcev - (8) počasna mobilnost (varnost in odsotnost hrupa) - (9) pomorski javni potniški promet (vstopne točke)	Participacija javnosti – javna predstavitev	Participacija – možnost podajanja pripomb
						morje	kopno	morje	obalna črta				
1	Začasna sidrišča	410	0	0	ne	da	ne	ne	ne	da	upoštevani: (1), (6)	ne	ne
2	Belvederske terase	50 m	800	250	ne	da	da	da	ne	ne	upoštevani: (1), (2), (4), (7)	ne	ne
3	San Simon	810	80.000	210	ne	da	da	da	ne	da	upoštevani: (1), (2), (4), (6), (7) v omejenem obsegu: (3)	da	da
4	Območje Delfin	300	25.000	5.000	da	da	da	da	ne	ne	upoštevani: (1), (2), (4), (7)	ne	ne
5	Marina Izola*	1.300 *330***	215.900	23.000 *4.600***	da	da	da	da	ne	ne	upoštevani: (1), (4), (7) v omejenem obsegu: (5	ne	ne
6	Lungomare svetilnik Izola	250	150	4.000	ne	da	da	da	ne	ne	upoštevani: (1), (2), (3), (4) v omejenem obsegu: (5)	ne	ne
7	Kompleks Delamaris	320	64.000	0	da	da	ne	da	ne	ne	upoštevani: (4), (8) v omejenem obsegu ali neupoštevani: (1), (3), (5), (7), (9)	da	ne
7	Viližanski zaliv	830	70.200	50.500	da	da	da	ne	ne	ne	upoštevani: (1), (2), (4), (8) v omejenem obsegu ali neupoštevani: (3), (5), (7), (9)	da	ne
8	Obalna cesta in otok Viližan	2.200	380.000	110.000	da	da	da	da	ne	delno, ne v morju	upoštevani: (1), (2), (3), (4) v omejenem obsegu: (5), (6), (9)	da	da
Skupaj		5.500 69,3 %	836.050	174.560	Op.: dolžina celotne obale Občine Izola = 7.935 m (vir: GURS – meje občin, 2020)								
Skupaj brez prekrivanja***		4.600 58 %	444.850	155.100									

skovalec Cori (1999), ki navaja, da je bilo na obalah Sredozemlja že pred 20 leti umeščenih pribl. 25 % vseh svetovnih hotelskih nastanitvenih kapacitet. Izhodišča za strukturno upravljanje italijanske obale je podal že Cortesi (Cortesi et al., 1996, V: Cori, 1999), ki opredeljuje osem tipov obalnih sekvenc (glede na stopnjo urbanizacije). Ta tipologija predstavlja upravno izhodišče za usklajevanje interesov in načrtovanje posegov v prostoru. Podrobno študijo o rabi zemljišč na jadranski obali Italije (njena dolžina je pribl. 1472 km) sta izdelala tudi Romano in Zullo (2014). Pri tem ugotavljata, da se je obseg urbaniziranih zemljišč v obdobju 1950–2000 na obalni liniji povečal za 300 %, v obalnem zaledju pa za 400 % (pretežno turizem in stanovanja). Med negativne posledice sodi izoblikovanje vseobalne konurbacije, ki ni skladna z načeli trajnostnega razvoja. V študiji izpostavljata potrebo po ohranjanju vmesnih nepozidanih sekvenc in pozivata k implementaciji vladnih ukrepov za njihovo trajno varovanje. Temeljni namen je zagotoviti prisotnost zelene infrastrukture z namenom sanacije negativnih vplivov urbanizacije.

Z izzivi obalne urbanizacije se sooča tudi Francija. Čeprav sodi med države z učinkovito zakonodajo in prakso na področju upravljanja obalnih območij, beleži podobne težave prav na področju usklajevanja javnega in zasebnega interesa (Robert et al., 2015). Ta nesoglasja izhajajo iz prenosa nekaterih upravnih pristojnosti (leta 1983) na lokalno skupnost, kar je vzpodbudilo parcialne investicijske interese in zato težje obvladovanje posledic urbanizacije na obali. Prévost in Robert (2016) sta v študiji namenske rabe prostora za obdobje 2000–2006 ugotovila 1,7-odstotno povečanje urbaniziranih površin na obalah francoskega Sredozemlja. Trend se sicer umirja, med ključne izzive pa sodi umeščanje turistične infrastrukture in usklajevanje razvojnih in varstvenih interesov.

S primerjavo naše študije in navedenih primerov lahko ugotovimo, da gre za precej primerljive metodološke korake in posledično tudi rezultate, zlasti na področju ugotavljanja deleža pozidanih zemljišč (načeloma vsi temeljijo na analizi pokrivnosti tal CORINE – COoRdination of INformation on the Environment). Vzporednice vidimo tudi v navedeni tipologiji obalnih sekvenc, čeprav je slovenski primer (CAMP) ter njihova interpretacija v naši raziskavi bolj usmerjena v vizualne kot programske lastnosti posameznih sekvenc. Na področju ugotavljanja usklajenosti javnega in zasebnega interesa z uporabo parametrov ICZM in MSP pa študije niso povsem primerljive, saj niso bile namensko usmerjene v to področje.

ZAKLJUČEK

Načrtovanje posegov v slovenskem obalnem pasu že sedaj zaznamujejo različne fizične in varstvene omejitve. Čeprav v prostoru obstaja še relativno majhen delež neizkoriščenih zemljišč, se vsemu navkljub urbanizacija še vedno širi. Ob tem se postavlja vprašanje, ali je v aktualnem investicijskem valu res treba poseči čisto po vseh razpoložljivih površinah oziroma kolikšen delež potenciala zapustiti prihodnjim generacijam. Vsekakor imajo za bodoči razvoj obalnega prostora, kljub formalnim določbam strateških aktov, pomembno vlogo sektorji v vlogi nosilcev urejanja prostora ter politični deležniki na lokalni ravni (z javnim mandatom), ki neposredno odločajo o podrobni vsebini in obliki obalnega pasu.

V okviru podrobne analize razvojnih pobud na območju občine Izola smo ugotovili, da vsi projekti izražajo veliko poslovno, programsko in oblikovno ambicioznost. Posplošimo lahko, da je investicijski interes prisoten praktično na celotni obali občine ter da je njegova – vsaj delna – realizacija v prihodnosti precej verjetna. Pobudniki so aktivni tudi na področju promocije in utemeljevanja pozitivnih učinkov na splošni družbeni razvoj. Ob tem se utemeljeno sprašujemo, ali zasebni kapital res lahko prispeva k ciljem javnega interesa in pod kakšnimi pogoji. V določenih primerih zagotovo, vendar je v vsakem primeru posebej treba upoštevati širši časovni in prostorski vidik rabe prostora ter zagotoviti nedominantnost posamezne dejavnosti na račun ostalih. Vlaganja v razvoj turizma v obalnem pasu so investicijsko in razvojno v tem trenutku vsekakor privlačna in všečna, vendar porajajo dileme, ali je izrinjanje ostalih dejavnosti, ki so tradicionalno vezane na morje, v dolgoročnem javnem interesu. Dejavnosti, kot so ribištvo, pomorski promet, solinarstvo, urbana raba obalnega pasu, prispevajo k njegovi identiteti in ohranitev njihove prisotnosti zagotovo predstavlja dolgoročni javni interes. V tem kontekstu je tudi mogoče razumeti protekcionistične odzive institucij varstva naravne in kulturne dediščine, ki kljub ostalim mehanizmom še vedno predstavljajo osrednji branik »javnega interesa«.

Usoda posameznih projektov in posledic v prostoru je vedno bolj odvisna tudi od odziva širše strokovne in laične javnosti. Višanje okoljske ozaveščenosti, zavedanja o omejitvah nacionalnega prostora in spoznavanje tujih primerov dobrih praks v širši populaciji vzpodbujajo razmislek o razvojnih prioritetah in vrednotah. Odpirajo se dileme o legalnosti in legitimnosti, o družbenih normah in ponovni opredelitvi razvojnih ciljev. Vzporednost procesov priprave OPN in PPN vsekakor ponuja ustrezen formalni okvir za dodatno soočanje interesov in premislek o viziji razvoja v tem omejenem prostoru.

ANALYSIS OF PLANNED SPATIAL DEVELOPMENTS IN SLOVENIA'S COASTAL ZONE IN TERMS OF TRANSFORMATION OF THE EXISTING SITUATION

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SUMMARY

The Northern Adriatic region is facing a variety of interests, which are formally reconciled in various planning processes. A Maritime Spatial Plan is being drafted for the Slovenian sea and coastline at the national level and a new generation of spatial documents at the local level.

In this context, the interests of conservation, sustainable natural resources management, and dilemmas related to business and public interests have been placed at the forefront. At the implementation level, investment incentives for spatial developments aiming to provide for an adequate infrastructure to carry out a specific activity are of key concern.

Using a descriptive method, we first analysed the existing spatial conditions (developed and undeveloped land) and prepared an overview of the existing professional approaches in coastal zone management. In the second phase we recorded the current investment incentives across the entire Slovenian coast and analysed in detail the situation in the Municipality of Izola. Using a comparative method we determined that in most cases these initiatives originate from the fields of tourism and recreation. In the spatial sense, municipalities make up 58% of the entire coastline, which means that their potential implementation would significantly change the existing spatial situation. This finding opens up questions on coordination of all potential activities related to the marine environment and on the general public interest goals. The methodology of preparing spatial documents, originating from international commitments on integrated coastal zone management, provides an appropriate opportunity to make well-considered decisions and work towards a legitimate vision of development in this area.

Keywords: coastal zone, spatial forms, land developments, planning process, public interest

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POMEN RAPALSKE MEJE IN VPLIV NA MORFOLOŠKI RAZVOJ IDRIJE TER ŽIROV

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IZVLEČEK

Cilj te raziskave je razumeti pomen in vrednost dediščine rapalske meje s pomočjo zgodovinske kontekstualizacije. Vzpostavitev rapalske meje l. 1920 je zagotovila politično osnovo za izgradnjo obsežnih utrdbenih sistemov na italijanski in jugoslovanski strani. Medtem ko so Italijani zgradili 1851 km dolg obrambni sistem Alpski zid, so Jugoslovani zgradili približno 250 km dolgo Rupnikovo obrambno linijo. Po kapitulaciji Jugoslavije l. 1941 je del bunkerjev Rupnikovega obrambnega sistema v občini Žiri prešel pod italijansko pristojnost. Italijanska vojska je večino porušila. V povojnem zavračanju generala Leona Rupnika je obrambni sistem, ki populistično nosi njegovo ime, šel v pozabo. Besedilo obravnava, kako je ta delitev prostora vplivala na morfološki razvoj obravnavanih študijskih primerov.

Ključne besede: rapalska meja, morfološki razvoj naselij Idrija-Žiri, vojaška dediščina, morfološki razvoj naselij, Rupnikova linija, Alpski zid

L'IMPORTANZA DEL CONFINE DI RAPALLO E L'IMPATTO SULLO SVILUPPO MORFOLOGICO DI IDRIA E ŽIRI

SINTESI

Lo scopo di questa ricerca è comprendere il significato e il valore del patrimonio del confine di Rapallo attraverso la contestualizzazione storica. L'insediamento del confine di Rapallo nel 1920 costituì la base politica per la costruzione di ampi sistemi difensivi fortificati dalla parte delle forze italiane e jugoslave. Mentre gli italiani costruirono il sistema di difesa denominato Vallo Alpino lungo 1851km, gli jugoslavi costruirono la linea di difesa Rupnik lunga circa 250km. Dopo la capitolazione della Jugoslavia nel 1941, parte dei bunker del sistema di difesa di Rupnik nel comune di Žiri passò sotto la giurisdizione italiana. L'esercito italiano distrusse la maggioranza. Nel rifiuto postbellico del generale Leon Rupnik, il sistema di difesa che porta populisticamente il suo nome andò dimenticato. Il testo discute come questa divisione dello spazio abbia influenzato lo sviluppo morfologico dei casi studio.

Parole chiave: confine di Rapallo, sviluppo morfologico degli insediamenti Idrija-Žiri, patrimonio militare, sviluppo morfologico degli insediamenti, Linea Rupnik, Vallo Alpino

UVOD[1]

Opredelitev krovnega pojma »temne dediščine«[2] (Thomas et al., 2019) je osnova za pravilno atributiranje tega termina. Raziskave »temne dediščine« (Valesio, 1992; Sather-Wagstaff, 2011; Thomas et al., 2019) konceptualno obravnavajo kulturno dediščino kot potencialno »temno« silo, z vidiki kulturne dediščine, ki so povezani s konflikti, smrtjo in trpljenjem. Ti vidiki vplivajo na dojemanje, zaznavanje in poimenovanje različnih skupin ali skupnosti glede na njihovo vlogo, konfliktno situacijo, časovno oddaljenost dogodkov in hierarhijo moči. »Temna dediščina« nadalje opredeljuje druge problematične nematerialne dogodke preteklosti, kot so negativni vplivi na okolje, družbena neenakost in revščina, ki nimajo nujno sodobnih implikacij (Thomas et al., 2019).

Omenjeni izrazi so se v razpravah o dediščini začeli pogosteje pojavljati relativno nedavno in tako kot pojem »temna dediščina« nimajo ustaljenih in splošno dogovorjenih definicij. Med temi izrazi obstajajo področna prekrivanja in različni poudarki, vendar je »težavno dediščino« mogoče razumeti splošneje in širše od »temne dediščine«. Kljub temu vsi ti izrazi predstavljajo poskus razširitve obsega »dediščinskih« raziskav in diverzifikacije pomenov dediščine, pri čemer se je potrebno zavedati, da je dediščina v splošnem večplastna in zahteva vsakokratno kontekstualizacijo ter obravnavo z različnih zornih kotov. Prav to je ključnega pomena ob razumevanju obravnave »temne dediščine« predvsem kot »dediščine, ki škodi« (Sather-Wagstaff, 2011), ki povzema negativne ali neprijetne vsebine preteklosti. Vsebine, ki so del »moteče in sramotne« ter v pripovedih in upodobitvah na lokalni ali nacionalni ravni pogosto izključujoče dediščine (Thomas et al., 2019), sooblikujejo sedanjost in vplivajo na razumevanje v prihodnosti.

Razumevanje dediščine je tako bistvena osnova za diskusijo o vplivu dediščine na prostor, tako z vidika ustvarjanja grajenega prostora kot tudi dejavnikov, ki so za to nujen predpogoj. Diskusija mora biti objektivna in poglobljena ter mora kot taka prehajati v splošno poznavanje, ne pa obratno.

ZGODOVINSKO OZADJE

Nedvomno je presplošno in tudi interpretativno prelahkotno, če ne le tozadevno, rapalsko mejo, pač pa tudi generično vsako preteklo, opuščeno mejo opredelimo kot splošen pojem v smislu dela preteklosti z negativno ali vsaj problematizirano vsebino. Nenazadnje predstavlja meja že po definiciji delitev nečesa. Tako je rapalski meji, ki je nastala kot produkt ne v celoti sintetiziranih teženj posameznih akterjev prve svetovne vojne, v času, ki ga lahko opredelimo kot zadnjo fazo nacionalnega iredentizma, v času izrazitih socioekonomskih in narodnostnih vrenj ter njihove manifestacije v propagiranju družbeno-političnih ideologij, kaj lahko pripisati negativno konotacijo. Takšna interpretacija je sad opazovanja predmetne dediščine skozi informacijsko perspektivo izključno nizke resolucije in historične pavšalizacije.

Razumevanje širšega pojma meje med Kraljevino Italijo in Kraljevino Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev, oktobra 1929 ob sprejetju upravnih reform države preimenovano v Kraljevino Jugoslavijo, je nujno potrebno segregirati v več smiselnih celot.[3] Podrobna kritična proučitev informacij v njihovem zgodovinskem kontekstu omogoča poenostavljeno predstavljanje podatkov s ciljem popularizacije tematike.

Ta cilj pa je mogoče doseči le s podrobno analizo historičnih dejstev.

Hribovje med porečjema Sore in Idrijce je naravna geostrateška razvodnica, ki je zgodovini pustila svoj geopolitični pečat od rimskih časov z delitvijo med senatno Italijo in provinco Panonijo (Čepič & Granda, 1979) do notranje upravne ureditve avstrijske polovice dvojne monarhije, ko sta Idrija in Žiri pripadali deželi Kranjski. V okviru teritorialnega nadzora habsburške monarhije oziroma kasneje Avstro-Ogrske so Slovenci ohranjali narodnostno, kulturno, ekonomsko in demografsko homogenost. Naselji sta se urbanistično razvijali organsko, sledeč le ekonomskim, geografskim in naravnim zakonitostim, vendar v istih zakonodajnih okvirih.

Ob koncu prve svetovne vojne 1918 je na nekdanjem ozemlju avstro-ogrske monarhije prišlo do konfliktov med iredentističnimi težnjami posameznih narodov, ki so bili v monarhijo prej nehomogeno vključeni, in teritorialnimi zahtevami večjih sosednjih nacij. Na obravnavanem območju, med prvotno vzhodno mejo z Avstro-Ogrsko in kasnejšo vzhodno mejo s Kraljevino SHS, je Kraljevina Italija kot članica zmagovite antante, ki je iz konflikta izšla kot velesila, svoje teritorialne pretenzije tudi nemudoma pričela uresničevati z zasedanjem teritorija že v času trajanja in v skladu z določili premirja (Kacin-Wohinz, 1972).

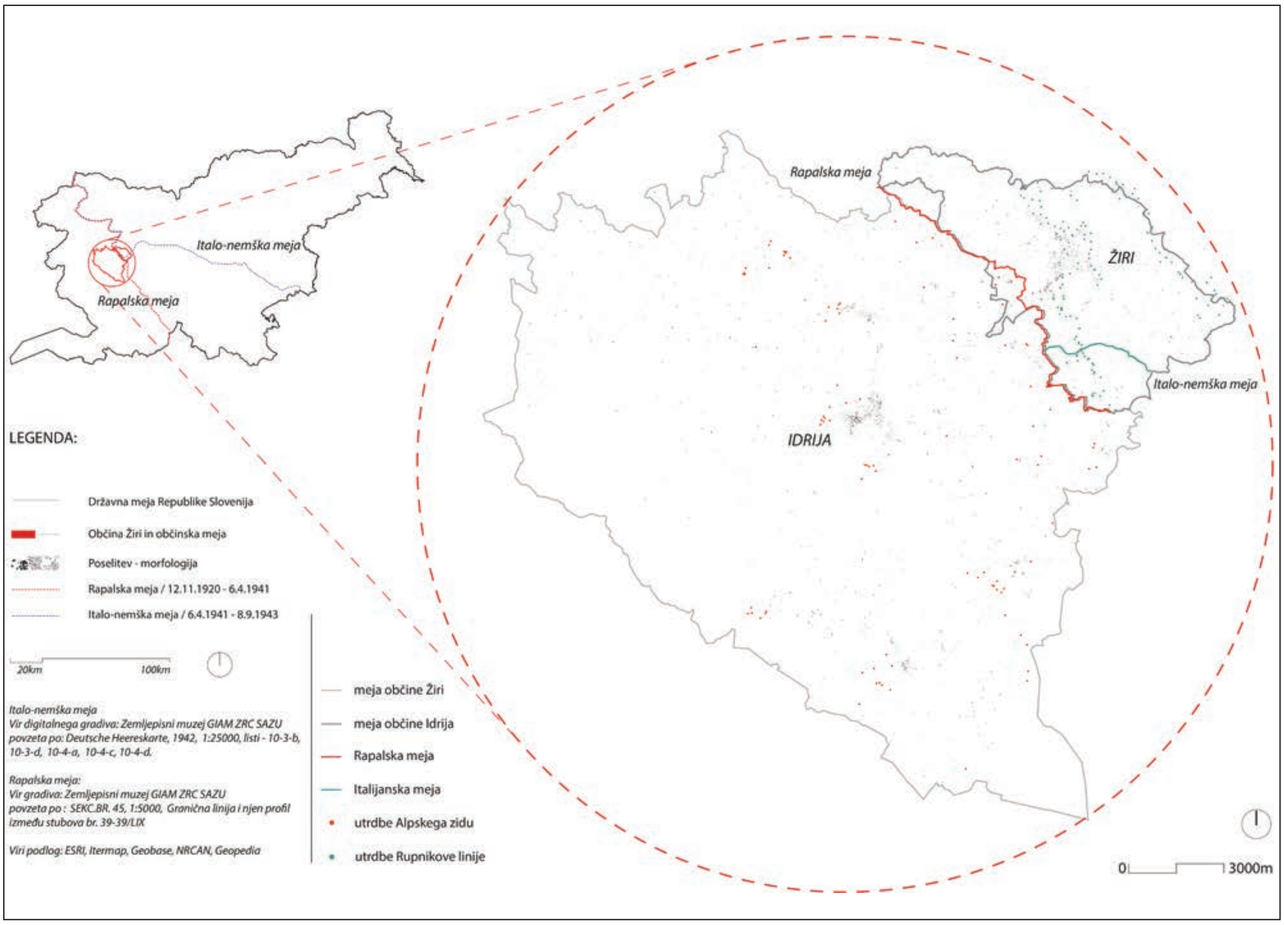
Novo vzpostavljena meja med Kraljevino Italijo in Kraljevino SHS je sledila zgodovinsko determinirani

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1 Prispevek delno temelji na raziskovalnem projektu J6-1801 – *Post-imperialne tranzicije in transformacije iz lokalne perspektive: slovenska mejna območja med dvojno monarhijo in nacionalnimi državami (1918–1923)*, ki ga financira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije.

2 »*Dark heritage*«; terminološko je s pojmom »temna dediščina« povezanih več bolj specifičnih definicij, kot so »težavna dediščina«, »sporna dediščina«, »disonantna dediščina« in »negativna dediščina«.

3 Za dogodke pred oktobrom 1929 v besedilu uporabljamo poimenovanje Kraljevina SHS, za dogodke med oktobrom 1929 in novembrom 1945 Kraljevina Jugoslavija, za dogodke po novembru 1945 pa posplošeno poimenovanje Jugoslavija.



Slika 1: Umeščenost občin Žiri in Idrija. Prikaz poteka rapalske meje, italijansko-nemške meje, občinske meje.
Figure 1: Location of the municipalities of Žiri and Idrija. Representation of the course of the Rapallo border, the Italian-German border, the municipal border.

razvodnici in je prostor razdelila tako politično kot upravno. V času veljavnosti rapalske meje med novembrom 1920 in februarjem 1947 sta ti dve naselji postali obmejni mesti, ki sta se kot posledica politično-ekonomskih in strateško-obrambnih prioritet v tem obdobju prostorsko, urbanistično in arhitekturno razvijali nepovezano (Slika 1).

Sektorsko delitev rapalske meje je celovito in s perspektive geografskega prepoznavanja atributov opredelil Žorž v svojem magistrskem delu (Žorž, 2016b). Celotna linija rapalske meje je okvirno potekala vzporedno z razvodnico med Črnim in Jadranskim morjem. Sam koncept meja ni bil dojeman na isti način kot danes, saj so bile meje spremenljive in so se tudi pogosto spreminjale (Žorž, 2016b). Italija je v vlogi povojne velesile in v luči *fait accompli* okupacije izrazito neitalijansko etničnega teritorija v novembru 1918, to je s kršenjem dogovorjenega premirja, zasedla nekdanje avstro-ogrsko ozemlje in s tem dosledno sledila predvsem uveljavljeni vojaški doktrini o zmožnostih obrambe države (Bizjak, 2016). Po zapisih župnika Ivana Plečnika[4] so italijanski vojaki prešli demarkacijsko linijo na Ledinskem Razpotju nad Idrijo (Žorž, 2016a) in se ustavili tik pred naseljem Žiri. Italijanski vojski je zahodni del razgibane morfologije terena v tem predelu predstavljal boljše obrambne zmožnosti in ofenzivna izhodišča (Bizjak, 2016) kot že jasni začetki nižinskega, ravninskega dela Apeninskega polotoka, sredi katerega se je sicer kot zmagovalka ob koncu vojne znašla po izrazito uspešni predzadnji ofenzivi avstro-ogrske vojske. Tej bitki, poznani kot dvanajsta soška bitka ali kot »čudež pri Kobaridu«, ter avstro-ogrski poletni ofenzivi je sledila italijanska ofenziva – tokrat že pod vodstvom generala Armanda Diaza (Bundesministerium für Landesverteidigung, 1930),

4 V začetku julija 1933 je bil za župnika v Žireh imenovan Ivan Pečnik, ki je dogodke v Žireh do konca nemške okupacije beležil v zapiskih, ki so kasneje izšli pod naslovom Metamorfoze.

ki je nadomestil odstavljenega Luigija Cadorno –, ki je uspešno potisnila izčrpano avstrijsko vojsko proti vzhodu. Po podpisanem premirju v Villi Giusti 3. novembra 1918 in koncu oboroženega konflikta med državama je italijanska vojska sprva zasedla in povezala v vojaško upravo Julijske Benečije (Žorž, 2016a), nato pa leta 1921 uradno priključila Južno Tirolsko, Trst z zaledjem in Avstrijsko primorje *(Österreichisches Küstenland)* ter del dežele Koroške (Kacin-Wohinz, 1972).

S političnega vidika je predstavljalo to območje jedro spora med Kraljevino Italijo, ki ji je bilo obljubljeno v londonskemu sporazumu, s katerim je stopila na stran antante, in Kraljevino SHS, ki je kot država šele nastala. Londonski sporazum je predvidel odvzem ozemlja Avstro-Ogrski, te države pa po vojni ni bilo več, saj so jo teritorialno nasledile Kraljevina SHS in množica drugih državnih tvorb. Kraljevina SHS je na iniciativo bivše ljubljanske Narodne vlade Države Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov tako kljub svoji začetni šibkosti privzela jasno držo, da odločbe londonskega sporazuma zanjo ne morejo veljati, in je zahtevala njegovo revizijo (Balkovec, 2009). Italija je kot članica »sveta četverice« z zasedbo območij, ki so bistveno presegala določila iz sporazuma, pričakovala le formalno potrditev meja, Kraljevina SHS pa je zahtevala določitev po načelih etnične pripadnosti (Marković, 1995).

V luči nestabilnih notranjepolitičnih razmer v obeh mejnih državah so se pogovori na mirovni konferenci v Parizu leta 1919 o definiranju dokončne meje izjalovili. Junija istega leta je odstopil italijanski premier Vittorio Emanuele Orlando, vse večji vpliv pa so dobile desničarske stranke, ki so izrazito izražale teritorialne apetite. Na drugi strani se je Kraljevina SHS spopadala z nerešenimi mejami z vsemi sosedami, z izjemo Romunije, in s pomanjkanjem notranje narodnostne kohezije, zlasti po zaslugi hrvaških teženj po avtonomiji. Napetosti v mednarodnih odnosih so pogajanja le *še* dodatno otežile.

Obe strani sta sprva k pogajanjem pristopili z maksimalističnih izhodišč, ki so bila takoj vzajemno zavržena. Nikola Pašić in Ante Trumbić sta v okviru mirovne konference leta 1919 kot jugoslovanska delegata predlagala, naj o meji razsodi ameriški predsednik Woodrow Wilson, česar pa italijanska stran ni sprejela. Wilson je z italijanskim premierjem Orlandom poskusil uskladiti kompromisni predlog, ki je predvidel neodvisnost Reke pod petnajstletno zaščito Društva narodov, Dalmacija pa naj bi pripadla Kraljevini SHS (Mikuž, 1975). Ker je bil predlog v celoti zavrnjen, italijanska delegacija pa tudi sicer ni bila pripravljena sprejemati kompromisov, se je Wilson aprila 1919 neposredno z manifestom obrnil na italijanski narod. Italijanska delegacija je po tem enostranskem dejanju v ogorčenju zapustila pogajanja, po Italiji pa se je sprožil val protiameriških in protijugoslovanskih demonstracij in sovraštva, kar so posebej občutili Slovenci in Hrvati na okupiranem primorskem ozemlju. Pesnik Gabriele D'Annunzio se je v luči ravnanja z italijansko delegacijo hudoval, da je izkupiček pogajanj *vittoria mutilata* oziroma »pohabljena zmaga« (Burgwyn, 1993), po neuspešnem še zadnjem poizkusu vzpostavitve razmejitvene črte, ki jo je predlagal francoski predsednik André Tardieu julija 1919, pa je situacijo 12. septembra 1919 izkoristil za okupacijo Reke z zborom 2600 legionarjev in arditov ter vzpostavitev *Reggenza Italiana del Carnaro* oziroma Italijanske regence Kvarnerja. Reka je v razmejitvenih dogovorih predstavljala poseben primer, saj je od leta 1868 v okviru avstro-ogrske monarhije pripadala ogrski polovici kot *corpus separatum*. Čeprav jo je po koncu prve svetovne vojne zasedla italijanska vojska, Italiji teritorialno ni neposredno pripadala, ker tajni londonski sporazum iz leta 1915 tega ni določal. Tako so nad Reko vsaj formalni nadzor prevzele antantne sile, vključno z italijanskimi četami, upravo pa je obdržal Narodni svet (Doody 2006; Valesio 1992).

Prihod Francesca Nittija na mesto predsednika italijanske vlade je zaradi nestabilnih notranjedržavnih razmer omogočil oblikovanje novega predloga, po katerem bi Italija dobila teritorialni stik z Reško državo. Vsled ostrim ameriškim nestrinjanjem s takšno ureditvijo je Nitti poskusil januarja 1920 sestaviti bilateralni sporazum z ministrom za zunanje zadeve Kraljevine SHS Trumbićem. Po ponovnem neuspehu sta nekoliko drugačno ureditev v dogovoru z Nittijem predlagala britanski premier David Lloyd George in francoski premier Georges Clemenceau, po njej pa naj bi Italija vendarle dobila teritorialno povezavo z Reko ter celotne otoke Vis, Lošinj in Palagružo. Kraljevini SHS bi pripadla severna Albanija, preostanek Albanije pa bi bil pod mandatom Italije. Zadar bi postal avtonomno mesto pod kontrolo Društva narodov. Jugoslavija je predlog ob podpori Wilsona zavrnila.

Ponovni padec italijanske vlade, serija incidentov, ki je sledila uboju dveh pripadnikov italijanske mornarice v Splitu, in za Kraljevino SHS neuspešni koroški plebiscit so obe strani, predvsem pa Kraljevino SHS, ponovno prisilili za pogajalsko mizo v italijanskem mestu Rapallo (Mikuž, 1975). Medsebojni odnosi so bili na izjemno nizkem nivoju, Kraljevina SHS pa se je po propadlem plebiscitu in ob zaradi notranjepolitične situacije v ZDA vse šibkejši podpori Woodrowa Wilsona, znašla v izrazito inferiornem položaju. Italijanskih pritiskov je bilo še več. Tako se je italijanska politika odločila intervenirati tudi v novo nastali in zelo šibki Avstriji, ki je iz vojne izšla kot velika poraženka. Prav italijanska armada je pred in po koroškem plebiscitu podpirala šibko avstrijsko vojsko, tako da je že junija 1919 stacionirala svoje

enote v Celovški kotlini. Tako je Kraljevina Italija tudi na severni meji s Kraljevino SHS nanjo izvajala izjemne pritiske (Kacin-Wohinz, 1972).

V obdobju od konca prve svetovne vojne in do podpisa rapalske pogodbe je poleg javnih političnih pritiskov in diplomatskih manevrov italijanska vojska intenzivno pripravljala množico vojaških načrtov za izvedbo napada na Jugoslavijo s prodori vse do Maribora, trajno zasedbo Ljubljane in Zagreba ter vpadi preko albanskih meja (Bizjak, 2016). Iz načrtov italijanske vojske je razvidno, kako so se strategije v prvih povojnih letih spreminjale vse do novembra 1920 (Bizjak, 2016), ko je bila podpisana pogodba v Rapallu (Prunk, 1976). Če so ti načrti kot posledica rastoče moči in velikokrat precenjenih zmožnosti jugoslovanske vojske postajali vedno bolj zadržani, je po Mussolinijevem prevzemu oblasti v Kraljevini Italiji vojaštvo dobilo nov zagon in ponovno intenzivneje pripravljalo scenarije napada na Jugoslavijo, ki ga je končno izvedlo v aprilski vojni leta 1941.

V tem napetem ozračju je Kraljevina SHS oziroma kasneje Jugoslavija pospešeno iskala zavezništva. Po vzpostavitvi male antante leta 1921 s Češko in Romunijo je Italijane najbolj šokiral trgovinski sporazum s Francijo in pa dogovor o prijateljstvu s Francijo in Veliko Britanijo v letu 1927. Novonastala mednarodna situacija je postavila vojaško načrtovanje italijanske armade na deloma defenzivno pozicijo. Prav omenjeni dogovor iz leta 1927 bi utegnil biti glavni razlog, da se je istega leta pričelo sprva neučinkovito (Bizjak, 2016) in nato po letu 1933 intenzivno italijansko utrjevanje rapalske meje (Marković, 1995).

Za potrebe razmejitve je sprva nastala kartografska izmera, ki so jo v letih 1920–1925 opravili pripadniki italijanskega Vojnogeografskega inštituta iz Firenc (*Istituto Geografico Militare*). Po določitvi meje na terenu, kjer sta se morala z označeno razmejitvijo strinjati oba predstavnika komisije, so predlog kartirali in označili z mejniki (Žorž, 2016b).

O zaščiti zahodne meje s Kraljevino Italijo je vodstvo vojske Kraljevine SHS razpravljalo že v letih 1926 in 1927. V ta namen je ustanovilo komisijo za oceno operativnega in taktičnega pomena zahodne fronte in komisijo za tehnično-fortifikacijsko načrtovanje utrjevanja zahodne fronte (Marković, 1995). Marković ugotavlja zanimivo dejstvo, da je bila črta, ki jo danes imenujemo »Rupnikova linija«, vedno uradno označena kot »Zahodna meja« ter da se je ime Rupnikova linija pričelo uporabljati kasneje, po drugi svetovni vojni, kot popularno, neuradno poimenovanje. Jugoslovanska stran je k dejanskemu fizičnemu utrjevanju pristopila šele v letu 1937, ko je bil ustanovljen Štab za utrjevanje (Terzić, 1984) s prvotnim načrtom zaključitve utrjevalnih del v letu 1947 (Habernal et al., 2005). General Leon Rupnik je bil za načelnika Štaba za utrjevanje imenovan šele 3. novembra 1938. Sprva je štab določil štiri odseke utrjevanja, kasneje, ob nemškem anšlusu Avstrije 21. marca 1938 (Evans, 2006, 646–656), pa je bil v naglici določen še šesti odsek, ki je potekal po severni meji. Tudi v nadaljevanju pričujočega besedila zavoljo praktičnosti obrambni sistem za zaščito zahodne meje navajamo kot Rupnikovo linijo, čeprav gre za ponarodel vzdevek, ki ga je obrambni sistem dobil v Jugoslaviji po drugi svetovni vojni. To razlikovanje je pomembno, saj predstavlja enega od ključnih dejavnikov današnje prepoznavnosti te dediščine, vsekakor pa njeno splošno dojemanje. Z ozirom na to, da je dediščina rapalske meje kot celote postala kot fenomen predmet serije raziskav predvsem v zadnjih dveh desetletjih, prej pa je ravno zaradi pomanjkanja le-teh bledela v pozabo zgodovine, je upoštevanje in poudarjanje pomena popularne ali obče karakterizacije še toliko pomembnejše.

Morda ob pomanjkanju zgodovinsko relevantne dokumentacije nekoliko špekulativno, vendar ob razumevanju drugih zgodovinskih dejstev vseeno legitimno lahko trdimo, da je sprejetje poimenovanja tega obrambnega sistema za Rupnikovo linijo v povojnem času s strani novega ideološko naravnanega političnega sistema Jugoslavije mogoče razumeti tudi kot zavračanje predhodnega jugoslovanskega monarhičnega ustroja ter z njim povezanega prevladujočega konservativnega družbeno-ekonomskega sistema. Nasprotno razmišljanje je nesmotrno, saj je tako obsežna infrastruktura, kot je jugoslovanska Rupnikova linija – podobno kot italijanski Alpski zid –, prostorsko prevelika, da bi v pozabo utonila brez sistemsko motiviranega razloga. V tem smislu gre razumeti, zakaj je bil lahko jugoslovanski obrambni sistem pripisan Leonu Rupniku in po njem poimenovan – se pravi po osebi, v kateri je nova ideološka realnost prepoznala narodnega izdajalca[5] – ter zakaj akademsko raziskovalne in poljudnoznanstvene sfere vseh disciplin vse do novega tisočletja niso našle niti energije niti motiva, da bi o tem sociološkem, družbenem, političnem, ekonomskem in nenazadnje arhitekturno-prostorskem fenomenu napisale vsaj eno besedilo.

Nenavsezadnje to sklepanje potrjuje tudi dejstvo, da v povojni Jugoslaviji obvezno šolstvo rapalske meje ni obravnavalo. Podobno ugotavlja tudi

5 Jugoslovanski general slovenskega rodu Leon Rupnik (1880–1946) je danes bolj znan po tem, da je bil med drugo svetovno vojno v času nemške okupacije načelnik pokrajinske uprave Ljubljanske pokrajine in ustanovitelj domobranstva (Jankovič Potočnik & Tonić, 2012, 45).

Naglič (2005) v svoji raziskavi Dediščina rapalske meje, kjer trdi, da je nepoznavanju botrovalo povezovanje meje in sistema obrambe z osebo, zaznamovano z dejanji med drugo svetovno vojno.[6]

Iskanje argumentacije za zavestno neobravnavo rapalske meje in Rupnikove linije v takojšnjem povojnem času zaradi morebitnega strahu pred ponovno vzpostavitvijo te pred vojno pravnoformalno zavezujoče meddržavne razmejitve ne zdrži presoje. Kot ugotavlja Pavšič (1999), je bila rapalska pogodba, ki je bila podpisana po mednarodnih pravilih, brez drugačnega dogovora ali vojne nepremakljiva (Pavšič, 1999). Italijani so na začetku druge svetovne vojne po razdelitvi slovenskega ozemlja med okupacijske sile 8. julija 1941 v Berlinu podpisali nov dogovor o poteku vzhodne italijanske meje. Po drugi svetovni vojni, med letoma 1945 in 1947, je bila demarkacijska črta med Jugoslavijo in Cono B Julijske krajine pomaknjena proti zahodu (Kacin-Wohinz, 1972), veliko bližje slovenski zahodni etnični meji. Kot takšna je bila veljavna po določilih mednarodnega prava, zasedle pa so jo enote Korpusa narodne obrambe Jugoslavije (KNOJ) (Naglič, 2005).

Rapalska meja je bila dokončno ukinjena 10. februarja 1947 ob podpisu mirovne pogodbe z Italijo oziroma njeno uveljavitvijo 15. septembra istega leta (Mikuž, 1975). Meja z Italijo je bila dokončno dogovorjena šele tri desetletja po koncu druge svetovne vojne z osimskimi sporazumi leta 1975 (Nećak & Repe, 2003). Ukinitve meje italijanska uradna politika niti po letu 1947 ni nikoli formalno negirala in je ta kot taka *de facto* postala stvar neponovljive preteklosti. Tudi jugoslovanski politični in strateški krogi sekularnih italijanskih teženj po vzpostavitvi nekdanjih rimskih meja prav tako niso nikoli izpostavljali kot morebitnega realnega vprašanja jugoslovanske narodne varnosti v navezavi s povojno percepcijo rapalske meje (Nećak & Repe, 2003).

Na sekularnost oziroma stoletno prisotnost italijanskih ozemeljskih teženj napotuje podatek, da je Italija po prvi svetovni vojni zasedenemu območju *že ob sprejemanju londonskega sporazuma leta 1915 nadela iredentistično obarvano ime Venezia Giulia* (Julijska Benečija). V njem se jasno zrcali v italijanski politiki od zedinjenja Italije leta 1861 dalje prisotno obujanje idealov rimskega imperija in identifikacije z njim. Leta 1863 je Graziadio Ascoli (1878) v milanskem časniku *L'Alleanza* prvič uporabil ime *Venezia Giulia* za teritorij, ki je zajemal skoraj identično območje kot X. provinca rimskega imperija. Uradno italijansko denominacijo je to območje dobilo leta 1921 na 8. italijanskem geografskem kongresu po predlogu geografa Olinta Marinellija, ki ga je še istega leta v delu *Il Friuli e la Venezia Giulia. Problemi di geografia amministrativa e di toponomastica* (Furlanija in Julijska Benečija. Problemi upravne geografije in toponomastike) opredelil kot območje provinc Vidma, Gorice, Trsta, Pulja ter Kvarnerja. V tej knjigi je Marinelli razširil dojemanje območja *Venezia Giulia* na zasedene dele Kranjske vse do Koroške (Žorž, 2016b).

V nastavljenih okvirih razumevanja formalizirane ter sistemsko opredeljene dogme, ki je prešla v neformalno popularizirano percepcijo dediščine rapalske meje, je nujno potrebno razumeti, ali je ta dediščina enako vlogo igrala tudi pred koncem druge svetovne vojne ali ne. Drugače povedano, postavlja se vprašanje, ali so rapalska meja in njeni posamezni elementi imeli negativno konotacijo tudi pred drugo svetovno vojno, v času njihove funkcionalne aktualnosti. Tedanja prostorska in na to vezana družbena, politična in ekonomska dejstva so se seveda razlikovala od tistih v povojnem času.

Ozemlja, ki so leta 1920 z rapalsko pogodbo pripadla Italiji, so postala poligon fašistične raznarodovalne politike, represije in omejevanja svobode. Italijanska imperialistična doktrina je v kombinaciji z ambicijami fašističnega režima zasledovala cilj trajne priključitve novo zasedenih teritorijev, tudi z umetnim poseganjem v njihovo demografsko sliko (Stranj, 1987; Čermelj, 1965).

Meja je močno posegla v vsakdanje življenje ljudi ob njej. Dovčerajšnji sosedje so se znašli v dveh povsem različnih državah in družbenih razmerah (Mikša & Zorn, 2018). Območja, ki so ostala v Kraljevini Jugoslaviji, so ostala brez trgovinskih povezav z zahodom, tihotapstvo pa je terjalo mnoga življenja (Naglič, 2005).

Zamejski pesnik Igo Gruden je takratna čustva Slovencev strnil v verzih, leta 1920 objavljenih v Primorskih pesmih:

Dol od Logatca – tik od Ljubljane
črne so vrane
krila ogromna čez svet razprostrle,
zarje za njimi za nas so umrle,
črne so sence pale čez Kras,
črne sence zakrile so nas.

6 Nepoznavanje podkrepi z izpisi iz Virtualne knjižnice Slovenije (COBISS), za katero navaja, da do leta 2001 v njej pod geslom »Rupnikova linija« ni našel zadetkov, konec leta 2005 pa zgolj 12 zadetkov. V drugi polovici leta 2017 najdemo pod tem geslom 86 zadetkov. V Zgornjem Posočju je nepoznavanje pogosto povezano z zamenjevanjem vojaških ostankov iz medvojnega obdobja z ostanki prve svetovne vojne (Kofol, 2008). »*Porast zanimanja za Soško fronto je povzročil tudi enačenje dediščine prve svetovne vojne z rapalsko, saj v večini slovenskih zgodovinskih knjig o Soški fronti najdemo številne napačne interpretacije vojaške dediščine italijanskega medvojnega obdobja*« (Žorž, 2016b, 83).

Na tej točki je potrebno splošno razumevanje osnovnih zgodovinskih sekvenc. Novembra 1920 je bil dosežen rapalski sporazum, s katerim se je po pričetku dela mešane komisije začelo določanje rapalske meje v naravi (Žorž, 2016b). Italijansko razmišljanje o utrjevanju meje sega v leto 1927 z ustanovitvijo posebne komisije, ki naj bi pripravila študije obrambne ureditve meja (Bizjak, 2016). Kot posledica postopne realizacije italijanskih obrambnih načrtov in drugih mednarodnih dejavnikov, kot so bili vzpon nacistične Nemčije in politično povezovanje z Italijo ter jasneje proklamirane italijanske teritorialne ambicije, že leta 1926 izražene s podpisom prvega tiranskega pakta med Albanijo in Kraljevino Italijo (Stojković, 1998), je Kraljevina Jugoslavija leta 1937 le pristopila k fizični izgradnji obrambnega sistema Rupnikove linije (Bizjak, 2016).

Gradnja je občasno potekala frenetično. To kaže na jasno namenskost tega obrambnega sistema in razkriva, da tako kot Alpski zid ni imel ofenzivnih elementov. Forma, ki jo je obrambni sistem Rupnikove linije povzel, je prav tako forma izrazito obrambnega sistema in ne predstavlja osnove ofenzivnega aparata. V vrednotenju Rupnikove linije in osmišljanju njene sporočilne dediščine ne gre zanemarjati dejstva, da sistem nikoli ni prešel v uporabo kot celota. Zapuščen je bil brez fizičnega nasilja in odpora ob kapitulaciji leta 1941 in tako nikoli ni vršil osnovne funkcije, ki mu je bila namenjena. Kot bomo poudarili v nadaljevanju na primeru Žirov, so indirektni učinki umeščanja obrambnega sistema v prostor imeli celo nekatere pozitivne posledice.

Jasno je, da je interpretativno mogoče Rupnikovo linijo s perspektive italijanske realnosti obravnavati drugače, saj je italijanska stran v sistemu videla in skozi optiko vojaške strateške doktrine prepoznala veliko nevarnost, kajti objekte bi lahko uporabili bodoči nasprotniki. Posledica te interpretacije je tudi vseobsegajoče rušenje utrdbenih objektov Rupnikove linije po jugoslovanski kapitulaciji aprila 1941. Vendar moramo pri tem jasno poudariti obče prepoznano dejstvo, da je bila rapalska meja umetno vstavljena v narodnostno neoporečno kontinuirano ozemlje Slovencev in da je italijanska oblast na njem delovala kot izrazit tlačitelj. Tako ne gre povzemati teoretičnega dojemanja in interpretacije Rupnikove linije po takratni italijanski plati.

Na tem mestu je ključnega pomena predhodno vzpostavljena diskusija o obravnavi pojavnosti rapalske meje v različnih resolucijah. Po eni strani moramo v vzpostavitvi rapalske meje pred videti zgodovinsko tragedijo slovenskega naroda (Pavšič, 1999).

A po drugi strani lahko tezo, da je imela tako imenovana Rupnikova linija kot del neke večje celote negativno konotacijo, v celoti ovržemo. Obrambni sistem je bil grajen skoraj petnajst let po vzpostavitvi rapalske meje, prebivalstvo pa je v danih okoliščinah, v katerih je pri gradnji proti plačilu sodelovalo in v katerih je tudi sicer prisotnost vojske botrovala novim ekonomskim tokovom, videlo predvsem pozitiven element. V tej luči je opredeljevanje Rupnikove linije kot »temne dediščine« vprašljivo. V tem smislu je primerna obravnava te dediščine tudi predpogoj za branje grajenega prostora in morfološke strukture ob načrtovanih posegih.

O MORFOLOGIJI

Obravnava urbane morfologije je, kot pravi Moudon (1997, 3), »*preučevanje mesta kot človeškega habitata*«. V tej misli se skriva prepričanje, da na obliko mesta ne bi smeli gledati zgolj z vidika fizičnega in materialnega področja arhitekture, urbanizma in krajinske arhitekture, temveč tudi kot rezultat aktivnosti in podpore, človeških odnosov in izkušenj, ki oblikujejo in gradijo funkcijo njihovih prizadevanj. Zamisel je rezultat številnih diskusij o morfološki strukturi mest, ki so zaznamovale drugo polovico dvajsetega stoletja, vključno z mislijo antropologa Lévi-Straussa, ki je leta 1955 ugotavljal, da je naselje najkompleksnejši izum človeštva, razpeto med naravo in artefaktom kulture (Lévi-Strauss, 1961, 127). Moudon (1997) pravi, da so mesta gostitelji obsežne in kompleksne mreže idej, politik in odnosov, ki se prekrivajo in dodajajo zaporedoma in brez katerih je nemogoče razumeti njihovo bistvo.

Ključ do razumevanja prostorskega razvoja naselij Idrija in Žiri je v razumevanju in interpretaciji danes prisotnih odtisov morfološke preteklosti grajenih struktur in za posamična obdobja karakterističnih vzorcev.

V morfološki sestavi naselij se odražajo dejavniki, ki prostorski razvoj oblikujejo. Definirajo ga naravne razmere, kulturni milje, prevladujoča gospodarska dejavnost ter predstave o urejanju človekovih bivališč, kot so zapopadene v urbanističnih paradigmah. Ker so ti elementi spremenljivi, se spreminja tudi morfološka zgradba naselij. Običajno so naselja skupki večih morfoloških vzorcev, ki odražajo razvojne stopnje v posameznem zgodovinskem obdobju. Tako so prav morfološki vzorci tisti, ki pričajo o gradbeni genezi (Drozg, 1992).

Na podlagi ugotovitve, da nam morfološka analiza omogoča razumevanje procesov, s katerimi je neko naselje nastajalo, je najprej potrebna opredelitev elementov prostora, ki jih s takšno analizo preučujemo. Morfološka analiza na najbolj elementarni ravni temelji na treh načelih:

1. obliko naselij opredeljujejo trije osnovni fizični elementi: stavbe in z njimi povezani odprti prostori, parcele ali sklopi in ulice;
2. obliko naselij lahko razumemo na različnih nivojih ločljivosti, pri čemer so običajno prepoznani štirje, ki ustrezajo objektu, posamični stavbi oziroma parceli, ulici oziroma bloku, mestu in regiji;
3. obliko naselij je mogoče razumeti le zgodovinsko, saj so elementi, ki jo tvorijo, podvrženi nenehni preobrazbi in nadomestitvi.

Tako predstavljajo oblika, ločljivost in časovna komponenta tri temeljne sestavine urbane morfološke analize (Conzen, 1960).

ŠTUDIJSKI PRIMER – OBRAVNAVA NASELIJ IDRIJA IN ŽIRI

Naselji Žiri in Idrija smo izbrali zaradi preverjene popolnosti prostorsko relevantnih podatkov o stavbnem fundusu na teritoriju občine Žiri in zaradi spremembe v razmejitvi v tej občini med letoma 1941 in 1945, ko je bilo to območje po kapitulaciji Kraljevine Jugoslavije na novo razdeljeno med Kraljevino Italijo in Velikonemškim rajhom. V današnji občini Žiri je nova, italijansko-nemška meja zavila s trase rapalske meje. Občina Idrija je mejna občina z žirovsko občino. Meja med občinama je še danes delno določena po trasi nekdanje rapalske meje (www.rapalskameja.si/zemljevid) in občinske meje (GURS).

Kljub temu je militarizacija širokega pasu ob rapalski meji, s tem pa tudi obravnavanih območij, imela širše učinke. Sklepamo lahko, da je postavitev meje zaradi različnih pogojev na naselji delovala različno. Ugotoviti je potrebno, ali so učinki razvoja v tem obdobju vidni v prostoru še danes in ali se odražajo v posamičnih arhitekturah in kot razločni morfološki vzorci.

Čeprav se je gradnja Rupnikove linije pričela 1937 oziroma na terenu šele 1938 (Habernal et al., 2005; Marković, 1995), so Žiri kot obmejno naselje dobile kot posledico vzpostavitve rapalske meje v neposredni bližini tri mejne prehode. Dva sta bila II. kategorije, mednarodni mejni prehod Žiri pa je bil I. kategorije (Žorž, 2016b). Z vzpostavitvijo rapalske meje in mejnih prehodov ter postavitvijo mejnih kamnov po celotni trasi meje je bila izgrajena dodatna cestna in druga podporna infrastruktura.

Idrija

Po delitvi demografsko homogenega slovenskega teritorija z rapalsko pogodbo je Idrija predstavljala največje slovensko narodnostno homogeno naselje izven državnega teritorija Kraljevine Jugoslavije. V 18. stoletju je tržno naselje pridobilo mestne pravice in se do konca stoletja razvilo v drugo največje naselje dežele Kranjske, takoj za Ljubljano. Idrija je pričela dobivati bolj urbano podobo, do konca prve svetovne vojne pa je idrijski rudnik živega srebra doprinesel do 5 % prihodkov v državni proračun (Bevk, 1993).

Idrija je s priključitvijo Italiji po prvi svetovni vojni zapadla v obdobje stagnacije. Italijanska imperialistična doktrina je v kombinaciji z ambicijami fašističnega režima zasledovala cilj trajne priključitve teritorijev, tudi z umetnim poseganjem v demografsko sliko novo zasedenih teritorijev. Če pred letom 1921 v Idriji z izjemo nekaj rezijskih družin italijanskega prebivalstva ni bilo, pa je po vzpostavitvi rapalske meje Italija v Idrijo naselila 500 italijanskih civilistov. Kljub odseljevanju slovenskega prebivalstva v Kraljevino Jugoslavijo in prisilnemu preseljevanju učiteljstva v notranjost Kraljevine Italije pa italijansko prebivalstvo nikoli ni doseglo desetodstotnega deleža populacije (Bizjak, 2016). Prebivalstvo Idrije je bilo podvrženo močnim poitaljančevalnim pritiskom, prepovedana je bila uporaba slovenskega jezika na javnih mestih, v trgovinah so bili razobešeni napisi »Qui si parla soltanto italiano« – tukaj se govori samo italijansko. Z Gentilejevo[7] reformo je bil v šolah prepovedan slovenski jezik (Ambrosoli, 1980).

V pomoč italijanski redni vojski pri gradnji Alpskega zidu so v posebne delavske bataljone italijanske vojske vpoklicali tudi domačine. Ti so redni vojski pomagali pri izgradnji določenih objektov v sklopu obrambnega sistema Alpskega zidu. Za delo so bili plačani. Pred izgradnjo objektov na preddoločenih lokacijah je italijanska vojska lastnike zemljišč razlastila in jim dodelila poštene, tržne odškodnine (Žorž, 2016b).

Idrija je bila teritorialno vključena v II. obrambno linijo Alpskega zidu. Leta 1928 so v Idriji pričeli graditi največjo vojašnico na vzhodni meji (Vehar & Mikša, 2021, 26–27). Sam sistem utrdb in zaklonišč ter protitankovski zid se je robu mesta le približal (Slika 4). Zaradi njene obmejne pozicije so bili med letoma 1919 in 1921 v Idriji nastanjeni pripadniki 49. čete (*compagnia*) finančne straže (Žorž, 2016b), po reformi pa se je

7 Giovanni Gentile (1875–1944) je bil italijanski filozof, univerzitetni predavatelj in fašistični politik. Veljal je za enega poslednjih predstavnikov hegeljanske filozofije, med letoma 1921 in 1924 pa je bil minister za izobraževanje in avtor reforme italijanskega izobraževalnega sistema.

Tabela 1: Statistično razmerje števila stavb, zgrajenih med novembrom 1920 in aprilom 1941. Primerjava naselij Žiri in Idrija (podatki: GURS, 2019).
Tabel 1: Statistical comparison of the number of buildings built between November 1920 and April 1941. Comparison of the settlements of Žiri and Idrija (source: GURS, 2019).

	obstoječe stavbe	nove stavbe	skupno	povečanje v %	utrjeni objekti v naselju	utrjeni objekti v obodu naselja
ŽIRI	236	133	369	**56,36 %**	15	35
IDRIJA	327	67	394	**20,49 %**	0	15

ta preoblikovala v motorizirano brigado Idrija in brigado Idrija–Rudnik (Di Bartolomeo & Sancimino, 2014). V naselju je bila vojska nastanjena v vojašnici Costantino Brighenti s kapaciteto 4000 vojakov, poleg nje pa kraljeva finančna straža s poveljstvom stotnije. Poleg poveljstva čete kraljevih karabinjerjev je v Idriji deloval še urad obmejne policije. Prehajanje meje med Idrijo in Žirmi je bilo urejeno preko mednarodnega mejnega prehoda Žiri I. kategorije, maloobmejnega prehoda Žirovnica II. kategorije in mejnega prehoda II. kategorije pri Breznici, ki je bil leta 1932 opuščen (Di Bartolomeo & Sancimino, 2014; Žorž, 2016b). Po letu 1935 so v okviru reorganizacije IX. armadnega zbora z vzpostavitvijo *settori di copertura* oziroma sektorjev korpusa mejne straže mejni prehodi zapadli v podsektor XXII./B. V okviru armadnega zbora so se nahajali XXI. (21.) sektor Zgornje Posočje, ki se je delil na podsektorje A, B in C; XXII. (22.) sektor Idrija, ki se je delil na podsektorje A, B in C; ter XXIII. sektor (Žorž, 2016b).

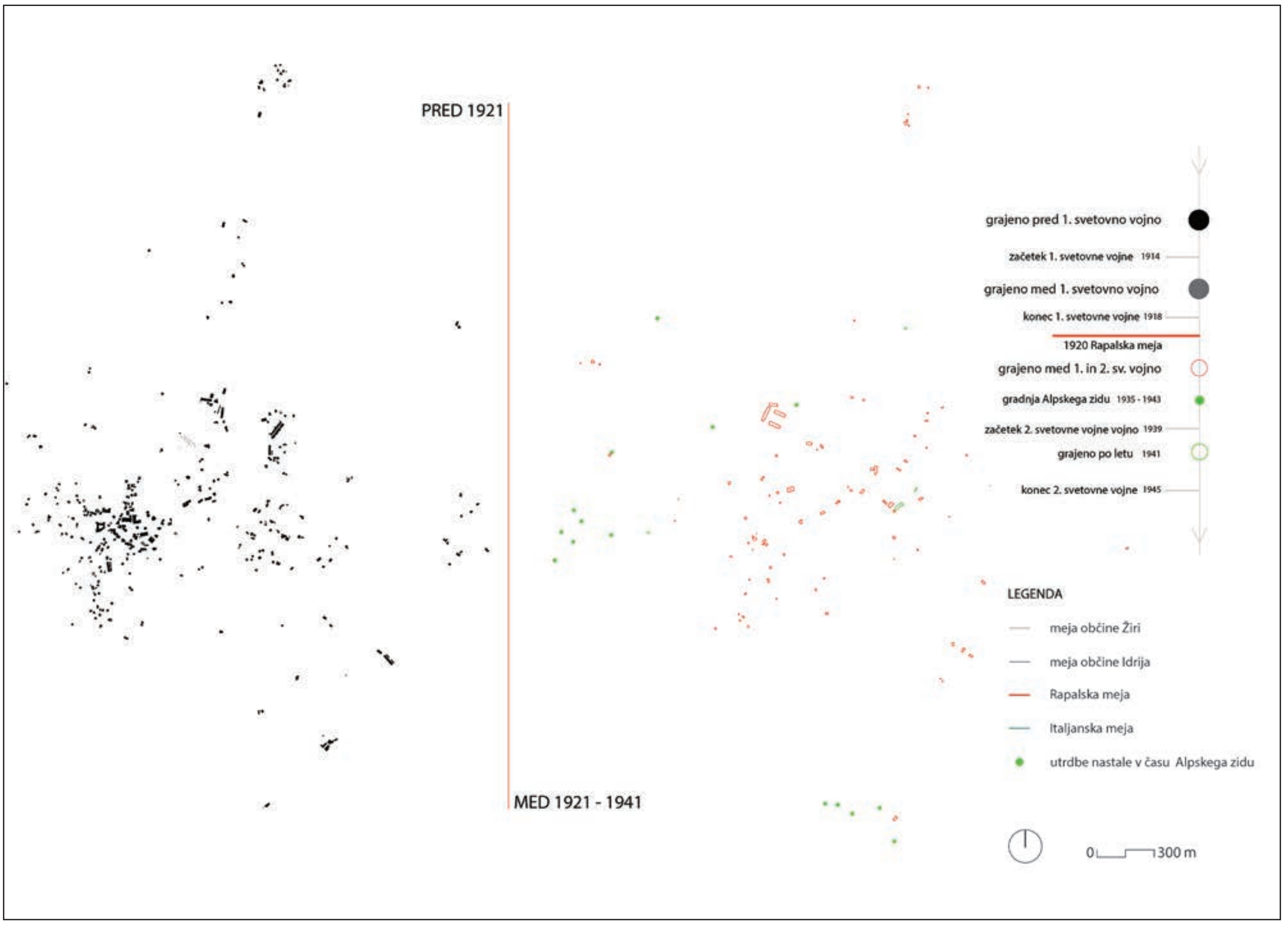
Poitalijančevanje se je odražalo na vseh nivojih in na vseh področjih družbenega življenja. Poleg posegov v naravno demografsko sliko, socialno in kulturno življenje, ekonomske tokove in administracijo je Kraljevina Italija svoje teritorialne pretenzije uresničevala tudi skozi urbanistično prakso in arhitekturno artikulacijo novo postavljenih stavb in infrastrukture. Območje današnje občine Idrija je bilo kot posledica izgradnje utrdbenega sistema Alpskega zidu in vse pripadajoče infrastrukture prostor obsežnih posegov v naravno okolje. Samo naselje Idrija je bilo v obdobju med vojnama prav tako priča transformacij, ki so naselje strukturno spremenile. Te spremembe so vplivale na morfološko podobo mesta, ki je razvidna in berljiva še danes. Predvojno gospodarsko močno naselje je zaradi povečanja povpraševanja po živem srebru med prvo vojno svoj položaj okrepilo. V medvojnem obdobju in v obdobju druge svetovne vojne sta sprva italijanska in nato še nemška represija rudniško dejavnost skorajda ustavili. S tem je izginil vir dohodka lokalnega prebivalstva, kar je v kombinaciji z veliko negotovostjo spričo tedanjih razmer delovalo kot katalizator za skorajda absolutno gospodarsko stagnacijo ter s tem skorajda popolno zaustavitev gradnje in širitve naselja (Mohorič, 1960; Šarf, 1975).

V tem času je bila posodobljena cestna infrastruktura, zgrajene so bile nove stavbe (Vehar & Mikša, 2021). V času italijanske uprave do aprila 1941 je bilo v mestu Idrija zgrajenih 67 novih stavb. Ob mestne vpadne ceste z namenom nadzora dostopov, predvsem pa nadzora mesta, je bilo umeščenih tudi 15 utrjenih objektov. V samo naselje italijanska vojska utrjenih objektov ni umestila (Tabela 1).

Med pomembnejšimi od 67 objektov, zgrajenih v Idriji, lahko izpostavimo prizidek starega zdravstvenega doma, »prhavze« (deset manjših, dvodružinskih delavskih hiš[8]) in v letih 1928–1932 na severnem pobočju nad Idrijo zgrajeno vojašnico oziroma kompleks stavb »*Caserma di Fanteria Costantino Brighenti*« (imenovanem po v prvi svetovni vojni padlemu generalu). Ta je tedaj veljala za največjo italijansko kasarno, zgrajeno ob italijanski vzhodni meji. Vojašnica je bila namenjena nastanitvi 4000 italijanskih vojakov, kar bi ob polni zasedenosti presegalo število domačih prebivalcev (Vehar & Mikša, 2021, 26–27).

Razvoj Idrije je tudi v medvojnem obdobju sledil interpretiranju in izkoriščanju topografskih značilnosti terena. Srednjeveška zasnova sama je sledila naravnim pogojem prostora; grajene strukture so izkoriščale ravninske, kotlinske predele. Gradnja je sledila smerem topografije. S ciljem nadzora in zagotavljanja varnosti v stavbe umeščenim funkcijam naselja je tudi medvojna gradnja izkoristila karakteristike topografije. Administrativne stavbe so bile umeščene na pozicijah, ki so omogočale izvajanje nadzora nad naseljem. Gradnje objektov v režiji prebivalcev, predvsem slovenskih, skorajda ne zasledimo (GURS) (Slika 2).

8 Zgrajene že pod italijansko upravo leta 1932 in danes pod zaščito organizacije Unesco.



Slika 2: Idrija – Morfološka struktura Idrije pred letom 1921 (levo) in dodani stavbni fundus v obdobju 1921–1941.
Figure 2: Idrija – Morphological structure of Idrija before 1921 (left) and added buildings in the period 1921–1941.

Žiri

Postavitev meje je predvsem zaradi utrjevalnih del za vzpostavitev obrambnega sistema Rupnikove linije v primerjavi z Idrijo pripomogla k močnejšemu razvoju Žirov. Z rapalsko pogodbo sta sicer žirovska občina in župnija po letu 1918 izgubili kar dvanajst naselij, čeprav je premirje v Villi Giusti določalo, da se krajevnih, šolskih in katastrskih občin ter župnij pri novi meddržavni razmejitvi ne sme deliti (Kacin-Wohinz, 1972). Prej naselje provincialnega značaja z lokalno ekonomijo, ki je temeljila predvsem na primarnih panogah, je ob uvedbi javnih del na obrambni infrastrukturi pričelo razvijati sekundarne gospodarske panoge, pri tem pa ohranilo vse prihodke iz primarnih panog. Z gradnjo utrdb so lokalni prebivalci dobili nov vir dohodka, saj so bili proti plačilu vključeni v gradnjo. Tako priča tudi Pavla Treven v z njo opravljenem intervjuju, ko omeni, da je marsikdo izmed Žirovcev z delom na gradnji bunkerjev prvič videl, kako izgleda denar (Treven, 2018).

Nastanitev vojske Kraljevine Jugoslavije v Žireh in okolici je sprožila razvoj terciarnih gospodarskih panog; odprle so se trgovine in gostišča. Dohodek je generirala tudi sama meja, saj se je prav zaradi prekinitve prej ustaljenih trgovskih tokov razvilo tihotapljenje, »kontraband«.

Posledica prihoda novega kapitala je botrovala večji kupni moči lokalnih prebivalcev. Mnogi izmed njih so svoj kapital vložili v dograjevanje obstoječih ali izgradnjo novih stavb. Tako je bilo v Žireh v medvojnem obdobju zgrajenih kar 133 novih stavb (GURS). Te stavbe so bile zgrajene v okviru privatne iniciative, ne pa institucionalnih teles kot v primeru Idrije. Temu številu je potrebno prišteti še utrdbene objekte znotraj naselja, ki so sooblikovali grajeno podobo in morfološko strukturo naselja. V samem naselju so zgradili petnajst takih objektov, različnih tipologij mitraljeških gnezd, po robu naselja ob vpadne prometnice pa dodatnih petintrideset. V neposredni okolici naselja, po slemenih obodnih hribov, je bilo dodatno zgrajenih preko 130 utrjenih objektov različnih

tipologij (Grom & Štukovnik, 2018) (Tabela 1). V zbirki Register prostorskih enot (GURS) uradna meja naselja Žiri (veljavno 1. 1. 1995) obsega tudi dele sosednjih katastrskih občin, ki so osnovni gradnik nekdanje upravne razdelitve. Razvidna je širitev proti severu in vzhodu, kar ustreza tudi širjenju poselitve.

Žiri imajo v primerjavi z Idrijo, ki je ukleščena v ozko kotlino, večje prostorske razvojne možnosti. Kljub temu, da so tudi Žiri umeščene v kotlino, pa je ta v primerjavi z Idrijsko bistveno bolj odprta, okoliška topografija pa manj izrazita. Sam razvoj je bil notranjega značaja. Čeprav sta povečanje in zgostitev morfološkega vzorca jasno razvidni, pa je zaradi sledenja principom, po katerih se kraj razvijal pred nastopom rapalske meje, kraj ohranjal enako podobo (Slika 3).

NAMEN, CILJ IN ORODJA

S preučitvijo poseljenega prostora Idrije in Žirov poskušamo dokazati, da je poleg morfološkega odtisa, ki je v prostoru fizično prisoten in berljiv, pomembna tudi geneza, razlog za nastanek dane prostorske situacije. Razumevanje zgodovinskih dejstev je lahko kvalitetna osnova za presojo in snovanje sodobnih posegov v prostor. Vsekakor snovanje novih prostorskih posegov ne pomeni nujnosti ponavljanja zgodovinskih morfoloških vzorcev. Razumevanje kompleksnosti morfološkega vzorca, nanj vezane ulične mreže, odprtih prostorov in merila je navsezadnje lahko le podlaga pri oblikovanju drugačnih, sodobnih urbanističnih vsebin.

Raziskava skuša dokazati večpomenskost pojava rapalske meje, ki je v svoji celoti in s trenutnim razkrojevalnim značajem ob sami vzpostavitvi za lokalno prebivalstvo in celoten narod pomenila tragedijo. Z ozirom na njene stranske učinke pa skuša preveriti, ali je rapalska meja ustvarila podlago za prekinitev z do tedaj uveljavljenimi pristopi poseganja v prostor, kot jih lahko razberemo iz dotedanje morfološke strukture naselij. Raziskava skuša ugotoviti, kako sta se razvijali naselji Idrija in Žiri.

Raziskava je potekala na dveh nivojih. Pregledali smo relevantno literaturo, vezano na teorijo morfologije v urbanizmu. Pridobljene podatke o stavbnem tkivu pred letom 1921 in po tem presečnem datumu do leta 1941 smo podvrgli morfološki analizi in jih medsebojno primerjali.

Izsledke smo interpretirali s pomočjo veljavne urbanistične teorije in jih grafično (Slika 2, 3) ter statistično primerjali (Tabela 1).

REZULTATI ANALIZE

Za izvedbo analize morfoloških vzorcev smo zaradi določenosti morfološke strukture v obravnavanem merilu uporabili merilo naselja. Z določitvijo merila in obsega obravnave smo uporabili merila širše krajine ter regije in pa objektov kot posamezne arhitekture ali samostojne enote v prostoru.

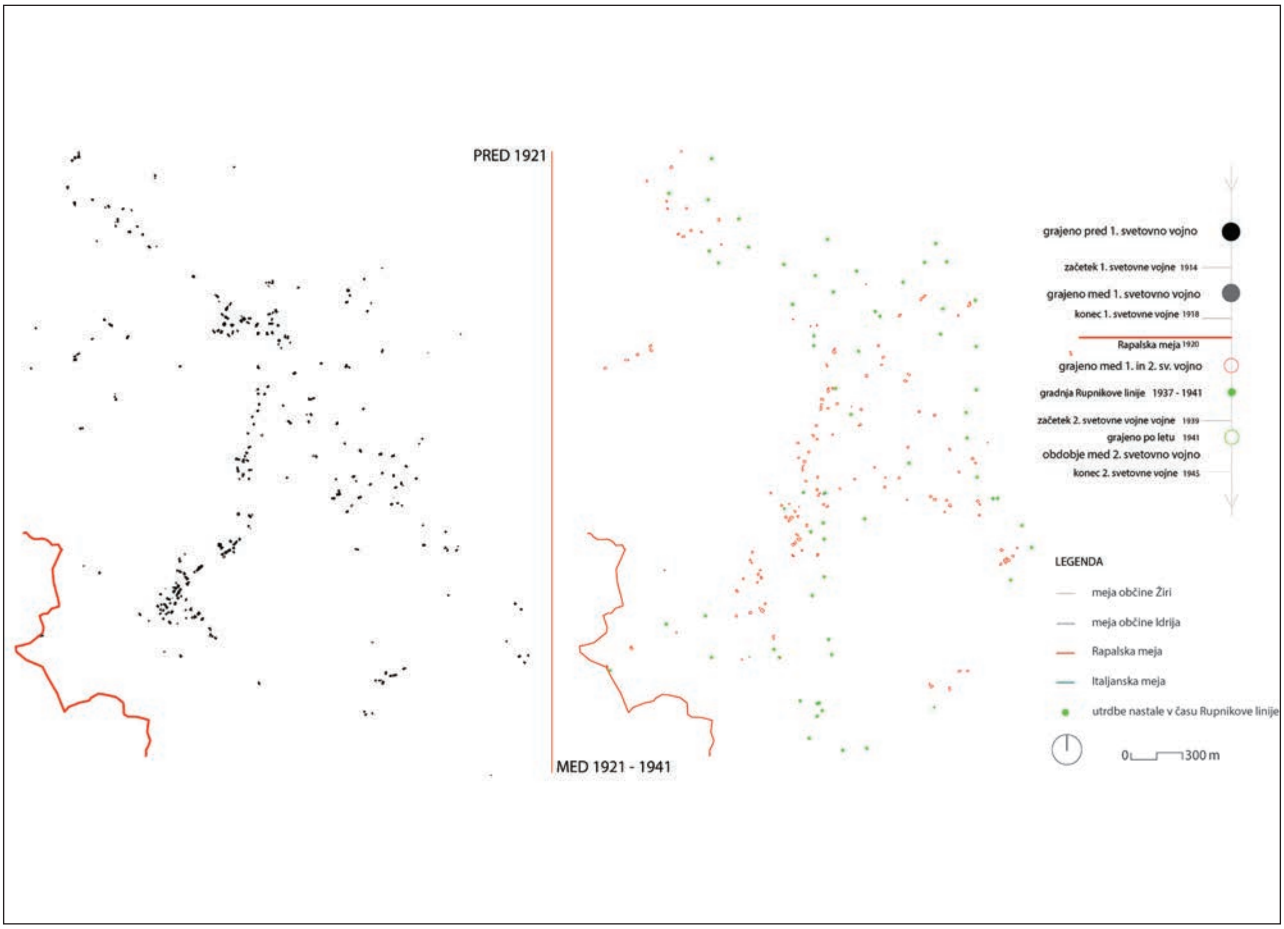
Geneza obeh krajev je različna in posledično sta naselji tudi različno kategorizirani. Drozg (1992) opredeljuje šest tipov naselij, razvrščenih glede na morfološke karakteristike elementov, zgradbo in obliko naselja, razmestitev objektov in zasnovo prometnic. V kratkem seznamu navede tudi Idrijo in Žiri.

Morfološka slika Žirov pred letom 1920 kaže relativno razpršenost poselitvenega vzorca. Morfološki sistem Žirov sodi med naselja tipa E (GURS, 2019; Drozg, 1998). Gre za naselja posamično stoječih objektov v nizu ob razvejanih prometnicah. Razmestitev v nizu pomeni, da so stavbe med seboj enako oddaljene, da so postavljene istosmerno ter si sledijo v vrsti. Razmeščene so na eni ali na obeh straneh prometnice, ki je ne omejujejo in so od nje enako oddaljene. Prometno omrežje je razvejano, a brez izrazita hierarhije. Vse ceste so glede na ulični profil enake, tako da je lokacija glavne prometnice zgolj na podlagi morfoloških elementov otežena (Drozg, 1992).

Medvojno dograjevanje kmetij in vzpostavljanje novih gospodarstev ter gradnja stavb drugega tipa je v obravnavanem območju poselitveno strukturo naselja zgostilo, stavbni fundus pa se je v tem kratkem času povečal za 56 %. Če predstavlja morfološka geneza naselja postopno nukleacijo (zgoščanje), se v medvojnem obdobju pričnejo intenzivneje vzpostavljati izrazite gruče objektov, ki se oblikujejo ob obstoječih objektih in ob prometnicah. Razvidno je namreč, da se nukleacija prične v trenutku, ko so te točke samotnih kmetij tri. Tako začne nastajati ena od dveh osnovnih zasnov, saj se izoblikuje geometrična oblika linije ali trikotnika (Drozg, 1998). Z dodajanjem vedno več točk (ki niso več samotne kmetije) nukleusu se čedalje bolj izoblikuje osnovna razdelitev na vrsto ali gručo (Fikfak, 2004) (Slika 3).

Primerjalna analiza podatkov iz historične kartografije[9] s podatki, dopolnjenimi s sodobnimi raziskavami (Grom & Štukovnik, 2018), kaže na drugačne deleže utrdbenih objektov v razmerju do drugih grajenih objektov oziroma stavb. Obrambni objekti v skupku, ne glede na njihovo namembnost,

9 Pri izvedbi analiz smo uporabili podatke z avstrijskih vojaških kart – 1. jožefinske izmere ter 3. jožefinske izmere – in prostorske podatke o zemljiškem katastru in katastru stavb, dostopne na GURS (2019).



Slika 3: Žiri – Morfološka struktura Žirov pred letom 1921 (levo) in dodan stavbni fundus v obdobju 1921–1941.
Figure 3: Žiri – Morphological structure of Žiri before 1921 (left) and added buildings in the period 1921–1941.

predstavljajo del morfološkega vzorca. Prav zaradi njihove specifične namembnosti pa v sistemu, kot ga opredeljuje Drozg, bolj kot drugi objekti v svojem območju delovanja vplivajo na postavitev novih objektov. Ker je bila funkcija teh utrjenih objektov nadzor in obramba določenih strateških točk, se v območju in v smereh njihovega nadzora ni gradilo novih objektov. Vpliv njihove funkcije na morfološko strukturo je evidenten in berljiv iz predstavljene kartografije (Slika 2, 3).

Če je v medvojnem obdobju pred pričetkom izgradnje utrjenih objektov leta 1938 umestitev novih stavb sledila principom nukleacije, je umeščanje utrjenih objektov v prostor in z njimi izvajanje nadzora nad strateško pomembnimi točkami diktiralo nove prostorske zahteve in s tem ustvarjalo drugačen prostorski red ter širitev morfološkega vzorca.

Predvojno morfološko podobo Idrije Drozg (1992) razvrsti v naselje tipa C, to je gručasto razporejene skupine objektov ob razvejanih prometnicah. Zgradbe pri tem tipu ne stojijo ločeno, temveč se jih več drži skupaj in tako oblikujejo niz objektov. Nizi so zaokroženi in zaprti ter tvorijo kmečko gospodarstvo oziroma »stavbni otok«. Skupine nizov so gručasto razmeščene. Tudi v tem tipu je mreža prometnic zelo razvejana; naselje je prepredeno s prometnimi potmi. Zgradbe omejujejo prometnico, prečni ulični profil je zato enoten. Nadaljnji pomembni značilnosti sta različna širina prometnic in množica križišč (Drozg, 1992).

Ker so bili politični in naravni pogoji za prostorsko umestitev obrambnih del v Idriji in Žireh različni, so bile različne tudi posledice za razvoj morfološke strukture naselij. V Žireh so pričakovali napad iz vpadnih dolin z zahoda, z italijanske strani meje. V Idriji pa je italijanska vojska računala tako z jugoslovanskim napadom preko rapalske meje skozi doline z vzhoda kot bodisi z notranjim uporom samega prebivalstva bodisi z infiltracijo sovražnih elementov. Tako so v idrijskem primeru, kot je tudi razvidno iz kartografije, bunkerji nadzirali tako vpadne točke v naselje kot tudi naselje samo (Šlabnik & Vehar, 2020).

Ločena obravnava razvoja morfoloških struktur je za primera Idrije in Žirov smiselna do kapitulacije Jugoslavije aprila 1941. V obdobju druge svetovne vojne se morfološka struktura obeh naselij ni spreminjala. Po pariški mirovni pogodbi leta 1947 lahko Idrijo in Žiri obravnavamo istočasno, saj sta naselji postali predmet iste državne politike upravljanja s prostorom.

Prostorski obseg obeh naselij se je najbolj povečal po letu 1950, v času splošne ekspanzije jugoslovanskih urbanih središč (Mušič, 1989). Naselja so se širila predvsem na račun stanovanjske gradnje, ki se je pričela z množičnim priseljevanjem v mesta iz ruralnega okoliša. Še posebej po letu 1960 so nastale številne soseske blokov in enodružinskih hiš. Naselja in mesta se morfološko niso podrejala ulični, ampak prometni mreži. Morfološki razvoj Idrije in Žirov na podlagi množične avtomobilizacije je razviden s Slike 4.

Kljub fizičnim omejitvam razgibane topografije, ki je najbolj izrazita v primeru Idrije, lahko v obeh primerih zaznamo prosto razmeščenost po prostoru novih grajenih elementov povojne ekspanzije, ki tako bolj kot grajeni ustvarjajo vmesni, nezgrajeni prostor. Umetni, politično regulirani posegi so obstoječo morfologijo ob stiku z njo večkrat brisali. Tako je v Žireh več evidentiranih primerov rušenja starih objektov in tudi obrambnih objektov ob širitvi novih sosesk (Grom & Štukovnik, 2018).

Ti posegi so prekinili tradicijo s prvotnim grajenim prostorom, ki je bil oblikovan v sozvočju s pogoji lokacije. Tudi obrambni objekti so glede na svoje posebne funkcije prostor interpretirali in svojo prostorsko umestitev pogojevali z značilnostmi reliefa.

Tako kot arhitektura je bil tipiziran tudi prostorski sistem, in sicer z vzorci, ki z matematično natančnostjo, vendar brez upoštevanja lokalnih specifik, tvorijo jasno berljive morfološke sisteme. V bližini naselij, a izven njihovih meja, lahko zaznamo skupine objektov, ki tvorijo neformalne vzorce, ob naseljih pa v smislu širitve poselitvenega vzorca lahko zaznamo bolj urejene, mrežne in linearne vzorce (Slika 4).

Poleg navedenega na določen slog spremenjenega pristopa pri poseganju v prostor po drugi svetovni vojni kaže spremenjena struktura zemljiškega katastra. Če so bile prej parcele strukturno opredeljene in sistematizirane v prvotne grude in pravilne delce (Ilešič, 1950), lahko v povojnih letih zaznamo obsežno komasacijo kmetijskih površin in razporeditev površin, predvidenih za širitev naselij, v geometrične forme. Takšna parcelacija je v prostoru pustila neviden odtis, ki se materializira skozi grajene elemente. Kljub svoji nematerialni pojavnosti v prostoru – tako kot rapalska meja, katere potek je še danes berljiv v katastrski strukturi – pogojuje prav nevidna razporeditev lastniške strukture grajene elemente v prostoru. Obrambna dela Rupnikove linije kljub obsežnosti izgrajenega sistema, katerega del so, ostajajo v parcelaciji nezabeležena, saj se vojska Kraljevine Jugoslavije na lastništva zemljišč pri gradnji ni ozirala in je postavljala utrjene objekte brez soglasij lastnikov zemljišč (Habernal et al., 2005). To je tudi eden od razlogov, da je status teh objektov v smislu formalne zaščite danes nerešen. Intervjuji, leta 2018 opravljeni v Žireh, potrjujejo, da so objekti Rupnikove linije breme lastnikov zemljišč, na katerih se nahajajo (Grom & Štukovnik, 2018). Lastniki so zanje zakonsko dolžni skrbeti, v večini primerov pa celo plačevati davek na premoženje in nadomestilo za uporabo stavbnega zemljišča, v kolikor je objekt evidentiran po GURS-u. Istočasno pa lastniki kmetijskih zemljišč niso izvzeti od plačila davka na katastrski dohodek kmetijskega oziroma gozdnega zemljišča v izmeri velikosti območja stavbnega zemljišča oziroma stavbišča. S tem ostaja nedorečena odgovornost za prepoznavanje teh večkrat neodkritih ali nepopolno evidentiranih grajenih elementov v prostoru (Grom & Štukovnik, 2018), za njihovo vključitev med stavbno dediščino in za njihovo vzdrževanje.

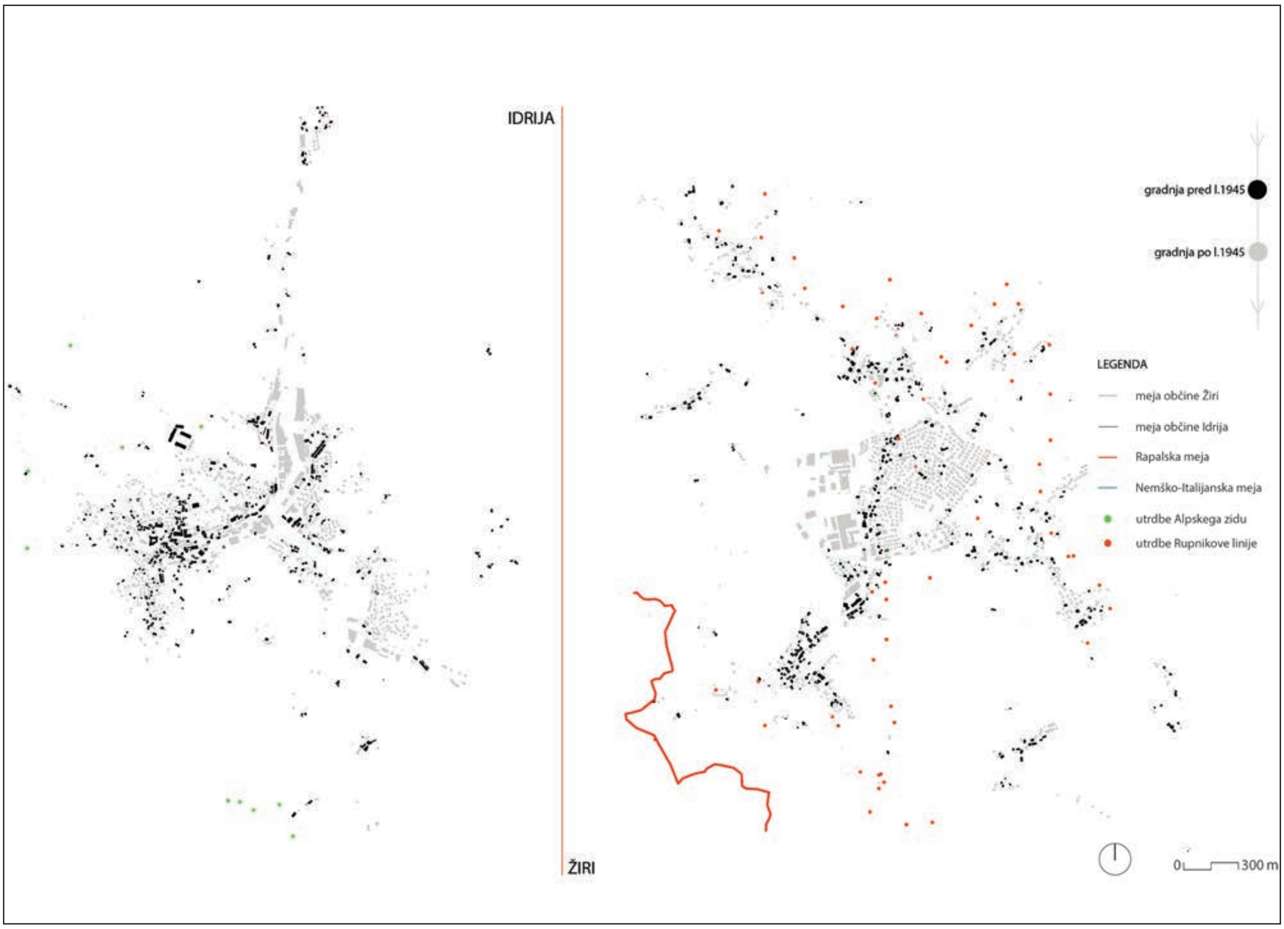
ZAKLJUČEK

Postmodernistična kontekstualizacija celotnega narativa, ne toliko v pripovednem smislu interpretacije formalnega in materialnega statusa obravnavane dediščine, ampak v smislu razumevanja splošne, generalizirane in obče percepcije te dediščine, predstavlja temelj za njeno pravilno razumevanje in posledično njeno umeščanje v sodobno opredmetenje.

Le pravilno razumevanje zgodovinskih okoliščin lahko predstavlja osnovo karakterizacije dediščine rapalske meje kot celote in Rupnikove linije kot njenega integralnega dela. Prav zaradi njunega različnega vrednotenja je smotrno celotno dediščino obravnavati celovito. V njeni celovitosti jo je zaradi različnih vlog posameznih elementov težko kategorizirati in omejevati z definicijami.

Pavšič (1999) je v luči osemdesetletnice podpisa Rapalske pogodbe podal argument, da je

> *poznavanje preteklosti naša zgodovinska dota, ki nas lahko kot nezmotljiv kompas usmerja s sodobnostjo in prihodnostjo. Ohranjati in utrjevati moramo svoj skupni zgodovinski spomin, ki je nujno potreben za našo nacionalno trdnost, za našo sposobnost obstanka na tem koščku Evrope. Če rečemo Evropa, se moramo zavedati, da smo tudi mi del te Evrope, rapalska meja z utrdbami na obeh straneh je tako tudi evropska dediščina.* (Pavšič, 1999, 36)



Slika 4: Morfološki analizi naselij Idrija in Žiri. Primerjava morfoloških struktur nastalih pred letom 1945 in po letu 1945. Ločeno je prikazan sloj utrjenih objektov Alpskega zidu in Rupnikove linije.
Figure 4: Morphological analysis of the settlements of Idrija and Žiri. Comparison of the morphological structure formed before 1945 and after 1945. Fortified buildings of the Alpine Wall and the Rupnik Line are presented on a separate layer.

Pavšič je prav tako sugeriral ohranjevanje dediščine z naslednjimi besedami:

> *Po nenavadni, vendar razumljivi logiki se lahko iz rapalske meje naučimo, kaj nam sporoča zgodovinski spomin in kaj nam izpričuje njena spomeniška dediščina v naravi, kako lahko vse to izkoristimo za nacionalno ozaveščanje, za rodoljubje, za spoznavanje narodne zgodovine in slovanske istovetnosti in ne nazadnje za izvirne oblike posebnega, pokrajinskega in vseslovenskega turizma, ki bi upošteval kulturne, zgodovinske, domoznanske, obramboslovske in vojaške, partizanske, floristične, geološke in še kakšne vidike. Vse to je bogastvo, ki se nam ponuja.* (Pavšič, 1999, 33)

Dediščina rapalske meje vse do danes ostaja nezaščitena in ni formalno prepoznana niti kot celovit prostorski sistem niti kot njen posamezni grajeni objekt. V območju raziskave v občini Žiri Zavod za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije (ZVKDS)[10] zaenkrat ni prepoznal vrednosti tega sistema in se, kot je bilo ugotovljeno v razgovorih s predstavniki urada, s tem vprašanjem tudi v prihodnosti ne namerava ukvarjati. Kot takšna ostaja ta dediščina izpostavljena nadaljnjemu fizičnemu uničevanju in nepremišljenemu zgodovinskemu zavračanju.

Kot že povedano, predstavlja tako vsaj obrambni sistem zahodne meje, pavšalno in popularno poimenovan po Leonu Rupniku, nacionalni spomenik. Infrastrukturno predstavlja namreč največjo fizično manifestacijo napora, ki ga je slovenstvo zgodovinsko vložilo v zaščito svojih narodnostnih pravic in identitete.

10 Več telefonskih razgovorov, ki jih je avtor raziskave opravil s predstavniki ZVKDS v letih 2018, 2019.

Z vidika razvoja morfologije naselij lahko za Idrijo in Žiri ugotovimo, da je ekspanzija po drugi svetovni vojni bistveno močneje vplivala na spremembo oblike morfološke strukture kot pa umetno začrtana razmejitev rapalske meje v medvojnem obdobju, čeprav je v Žireh v medvojnem obdobju prišlo do izrazitega povečanja stavbnega fundusa. Ti vplivi so danes berljivi v morfoloških vzorcih, ki prekinjajo s tradicionalnim odtisom grajenih struktur in so v strukturi naselij evidentni ne toliko zaradi samega obsega kot geometrije, ki jo vnašajo v prostor.

Ugotovimo lahko, da je ob iskanju razvojnih potencialov prostora in poseganju vanj razumevanje obstoječega nujno povezano z razumevanjem geneze aktualnega stanja. Kljub temu naj ohranjanje in izvajanje kvalitetnih prvin posebnosti kraja ne pomeni prenašanja določene historične situacije v sedanjost in prihodnost (Norberg-Schulz, 1979). Na prisotni prostorski podlagi mora v iskanju kvalitetnih ciljev najti svoj temelj ustvarjalna interpretacija lokalnih specifik. Projektni pristopi naj bodo v smislu racionalističnega pristopa neposreden rezultat spoznavne izkušnje.

V tem smislu je razumevanje razvoja morfološke zgradbe naselja Žiri in mesta Idrija ter razumevanje razvojnih razlik in vzrokov zanje lahko konceptualno in vrednostno izhodišče. Posege v prostor je potrebno usklajevati z razumevanjem izročila morfološke strukture.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RAPALLO BORDER AND THE IMPACT ON THE MORPHOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF IDRIA AND ŽIRI

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SUMMARY

The goal of this research was to an attempt at understanding the meaning and general value of the heritage of the Rapallo border with the help of historical contextualization in order to better define it and validate it. The establishment of the Rapallo border in 1920 procured the political basis for the enormous built-up of vast fortification systems on the Italian and the Yugoslavian side of the border. The Italians built the 1851 km long Vallo Alpino with the Eastern section of approximately 250 km facing the system of 250 km long Rupnik defence line built by the Yugoslavs. After the capitulation of Yugoslavia in April of 1941, part of the Rupnik bunkers in the Žiri municipality came under Italian jurisdiction. Italian military demolished most of them. In combination with the post-war denunciation of general Leon Rupnik and the defence line populistically bearing his name, the defence system became forgotten. Furthermore, the text considers how this division of space influenced the relevant morphological development with the help of an array of different approaches. Relevant historical and archival documents, as well as literature on the topic, were studied and data has been considered with a comparative method. The selected data has been tested with fieldwork where a large number of undiscovered fortification structures were found, listed and geo-positioned. Digital tools such as ESRI ArcGIS Desktop and Autodesk Autocad 2018 have been used to structure and analyse the data and compare it with relevant historical information available in the Surveying and Mapping Authority of the Republic of Slovenia's official database on the morphological development of the settlements Idrija and Žiri. The comparative method with the help of spatial morphological analysis assessed and graphically as well as statistically presented the impact of the Rapallo border with its constitutive elements the Vallo Alpino and the Rupnik Line. The result clearly showed that the influence was not unambiguous. In the case of the political division of the landscape, the influence was negative as it divided a homogenous demographic territory. The influence of the Vallo Alpino defence line had negative effects on spatial development since it was used as a tool of repression. On the other hand, the Rupnik line offered unexpected development momentum as it generated economical flows hitherto unknown in Žiri, a peripheral town before becoming a borderline settlement of interest. Because of such roles, the influence of the military heritage of the Rupnik line far overreaches the implications of spatial elements, and its value as heritage can be assessed through fresh perspectives.

Keywords: Rapallo border, morphological development of Idrija-Žiri, military heritage, morphological development of settlements, Rupnik Line, Alpine Wall

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PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA'S *BELT AND ROAD* INITIATIVE: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE–THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), the most visible and all-encompassing economic diplomacy proposal of the People's Republic of China (PRC), is hailed by the PRC's official representatives as an original, non-political, and benevolent vision of, and action plan for, economic and social harmony to come, domestically and globally. The BRI has also been analyzed and judged to be a threat by many scholars, journalists, and non-Chinese politicians. In our analysis we offer an alternative problematization and a critical perspective on the BRI by employing the ontological propositions of discourse theory as developed by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe and operationalized by the so-called Essex School of Discourse Analysis. The aim of the article is therefore to gain more complex insights into the PRC's most ambitious global initiative to date, and to contextualize the findings in Chinese and "post-Eurocentric" international, political, and social theory.

Keywords: Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), People's Republic of China (PRC), discourse theory, social antagonism, dislocation, relationalism

LA *NUOVA VIA DELLA SETA* DELLA REPUBBLICA POPOLARE CINESE: CRITICA SULLA SCIA DELL'ANALISI DISCORSIVA-TEORICA

SINTESI

La Nuova Via della Seta (BRI), la più eminente e onnicomprensiva proposta della diplomazia economica della Repubblica Popolare Cinese (RPC), viene esaltata dai rappresentanti ufficiali della RPC come una visione originale, apolitica e benevolente di un futuro di armonia economica e sociale, nonché un piano d'azione per ottenere questo futuro a livello nazionale e globale. La BRI è stata anche analizzata da molti studiosi e giornalisti, come pure da politici fuori dalla RPC, e giudicata come una minaccia. La nostra analisi fornisce una problematizzazione e una prospettiva critica alternative sulla BRI, avvalendosi delle proposizioni ontologiche della teoria del discorso sviluppata da Ernesto Laclau e Chantal Mouffe e messa in pratica dalla cosiddetta scuola dell'analisi del discorso di Essex. L'obiettivo del presente articolo è quindi di arrivare a una visione più complessa dell'iniziativa globale finora più ambiziosa della RPC e di contestualizzare i risultati nelle teorie internazionali, politiche e sociali cinesi e "post-eurocentriche".

Parole chiave: Nuova Via della Seta (BRI), Repubblica Popolare Cinese (RPC), teoria del discorso, antagonismo sociale, dislocazione, relazionismo

INTRODUCTION[1]

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), the most visible and all-encompassing proposal of Chinese economic diplomacy[2] of the last decade, was first announced during the 2013 visit of the Chinese president Xi Jinping to Central and Southeast Asia. It builds on the current notion of the "*Chinese dream*" (*zhongguo meng*) and the notions of "*harmonious society*" (*hexieshehui*) or "*harmonious world*" (*hexieshijie*), which were put forward in 2005 during the previous administration (Hu, 2005; Zha, 2015, 2–11). Implying a harmonious, anti-hegemonic outlook was also in line with the foreign policy of "*peaceful development*" (*zhongguoheping-fazhan*) from the same Hu/Wen administration.

Still, there are numerous unprecedented elements to the BRI. During the 19th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (October 2017) it was included in the constitution. Since then Xi (2017, 6) has hailed the BRI as part of developing a "*community with a shared future for mankind*" and encouraging "*the evolution of the global governance system*." To put it differently, as seen from the numerous references to the BRI in the many official documents pertaining to it, the initiative is interpreted as being only reformative, and in no way hegemonic or revisionist for the current state of international affairs, or its norms and institutions. On the contrary, the BRI is conceived to benefit *everybody*, while respecting different cultural, developmental, environmental, market, and political specifics and independence of all involved. As an original, non-ideological, non-hegemonic, and benevolent vision of, and action plan for, global economic and social harmony to come, the BRI is to be realized through enhanced "*connectivity*" facilitated by massive infrastructure projects across more than 65 countries and three continents (Asia, Europe, Africa). The PRC is ready to make available around USD 1 trillion for this lofty goal.

On the other hand, the BRI is considered a threat by numerous scholars, journalists, and non-Chinese politicians. For example, for Nayyar (2017) the BRI is first and foremost "*a stepping stone for China's aspirations of global leadership*", "*buying of regional leadership*", "*quest for hegemony*", and "*a means of extending political spheres of influence*" in Africa and Asia. Similarly, for Chellaney (2017) it is a premium example of "*debt-trap diplomacy*", which leaves the loan-receiving developing countries "*vulnerable to China's influence*". For the group of 27 national European Union (EU) ambassadors to Beijing (at that time excluding Hungary), "*the BRI runs counter to the EU agenda for liberalizing trade and pushes the balance of power in favor of subsidized Chinese companies*" (Heide et al., 2018).

Our aim is to problematize such opposing, reductive, and simplified renderings of the BRI in the PRC and outside it, as part of providing a critical explanation of the BRI's political emergence, transformation, and maintenance. This includes the dissemination of the notion of the PRC's civilizational uniqueness as a modernized incarnation of an inclusive, holistic, meritocratic, and cooperative world-view, and opposite to that, the so-called "China bashing", which has effectively been a strategy of all (aspiring) presidents of the USA, reaching an unprecedented, openly racist height with the Trump administration. We argue that these are strategies aimed at (ideologically) covering over the possibly dislocating effect caused by challenges beyond both sides' limits, which constitutively depends on the fantasies of fullness- or catastrophe-to-come (depending on whether the chosen enemy is defeated by the hegemonic agent).

To achieve this, we employ the ontological propositions of discourse theory as initially developed by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe and operationalized in the "logics of critical explanation" approach by two of the most visible scholars of the *Essex School of Discourse Analysis*, Jason Glynos and David Howarth (2007). More specifically, our exploration of the social, political, and fantasmatic logics of the BRI will be guided by the following research questions (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, 171–172):

> R1: How can we characterize the new phenomena and practices? Why and how did they come about and continue to be sustained?
> R2: Why do the leaders of the PRC not face more (successful) revolt (at home and abroad), and why is their hegemonic logic so successful?

The article is built of three interrelated parts. Following the introduction, we will present a theoretical overview of the discourse theory and logics of critical explanation. They will serve us for the discourse analysis, which is presented in the third part of the article and divided into two subsections. In the first subsection we present some of the main proposals and practices of the BRI and their official interpretation (from the document *Visions and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road*; National Development and Reform

1 The views expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of institutions which authors are part of. The article is a result of the Research Programme "Slovenia and its actors in international relations and European integrations (P5-0177)".

2 On the historical and social definition and perception of economic diplomacy, see more in Udovič and Jačimović (2019), and Ramšak (2014; 2015).

Commission, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China, 2015);[3] while in the second part of the empirical analysis we expose its social, political, and fantasmatic logics. The article ends with a conclusion, in which we summarize and contextualize the main findings, mostly by making explicit some of their critical and normative aspects.

A Theoretical Framework: Discourse theory and logics of critical explanation

The philosophical assumptions of poststructuralist discourse theory, as set out most prominently in *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (Laclau & Mouffe, 1987) and developed further with Laclau (1990; 2008), Mouffe (1993), with some input of Žižek (1990) and their followers in the *Essex School of Discourse Analysis* (Torfing, 1999; Stavrakakis, 2005; Glynos & Howarth, 2007), provide "*a general horizon for understanding and explaining various aspects of social life*" (Howarth, 2010, 313).

Two of the basic aspects of discourse theory are *the discursive* and *discourse*. *The discursive* is an ontological category, "*a categorical presupposition for our understanding of particular entities and social relations*" (Howarth, 2010, 313). That means that each object and symbolic order is "*situated in a field of significant differences*" and, following Heidegger, Lacan, and Derrida, it is "*marked by a lack*", incomplete, and radically contingent[4] (Howarth, 2010, 313). Consequently, *discourse* is a particular, uneven, and hierarchical system of meaningful and articulatory practice, "*constituted politically by the construction of social antagonisms and* […] *political frontiers*", establishing identities of subjects and objects (Howarth, 2010, 313). At the same time, it is also a historical construction, vulnerable to the political forces that were not included in its production and to the dislocatory effects of events outside of its control (Howarth & Stavrakakis, 2000, 4).

Such ontological commitments are part of the five interrelated elements of our approach: problematization, retroductive explanation, logics, articulation, and critique. For problematization (relevant to both, "*academic and pressing social and political issues*"), we start from Foucault[5] and his idea of a problem-driven approach (constructing "*a set of phenomena as a problem*") (Howarth, 2010, 324–325). The system of explanation within this approach is retroductive, whereas the concept of logics provides the appropriate content of a future critical explanation (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, 12). These logics are various types (according to complexities of historical and social circumstances), so they must be articulated together in order to explain the constructed *explanandum* (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, 12). Last but not least, critique and normative evaluation[6] are internally connected to the problematization, characterization, and explanation. They neither precede nor follow them (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, 12), but lean on the specifics of historical relations of domination and subjects' responses to the condition of radical contingency, which "*center on the subject's particular mode of enjoyment*" (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, 119).

In our understanding, the concept of a *logic* (of a practice or a regime of practices) "*comprises the rules or grammar of the practice*" and "*the conditions which make the practice both possible and vulnerable*" (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, 136). Social, political, and fantasmatic logics, which respectively correspond with questions starting with *what, how,* and *why*, make up the three-fold typology of logics needed for a critical explanation of the practice or regime in question. To put it very synthetically, social logics characterize a

3 The criteria for choosing the mentioned document (hereby: Visions and Actions) are its "*symbolic and emblematic dimensions*" as seen in the words "*visions*" and "*actions*" and emphasizing the proactive vision of unified self (CPC, PRC, the people, "we"), as well as it being an answer to the critics that repeatedly state that it is vague and overly all-encompassing (Clarke, 2012, 173–174). It was put forward by the National Development and Reform Commission, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China, authorized by the State Council. The document, and the particular vision of an all-inclusive globalization it puts forward, is illustrative because it provides the conceptual framework and means by which the politicians from the PRC attempt to lay claim to a distinctive agenda and mobilize various actors into a coordinated strategy for bettering international, interregional, and even inter-civilizational and interpersonal relations. What's more, this reading leans heavily on our readings of numerous other official texts (Hu, 2005; Xi, 2017), which informed our openly and inevitably biased selection of this particular document for the limited purpose of this article. To state that means that we also confess that our position cannot ever be a detached position outside discourse, which comes with the acceptance of discourse theory's assumptions on processes and forms involved in the systemic (i.e. world) discursive constitution (Martilla, 2015).

4 It is worth noting that in opposition to empirical contingency, radical contingency stresses *a sense of impossibility*, "*the constitutive failure of any objectivity to attain a full identity*" (Glynos & Howarth, 2008, 11). Its main approach consists in questioning "*the idea of a fully constituted essence of a practice, regime or object in the name of an irreducible negativity that cannot be reabsorbed*" (Glynos & Howarth, 2008, 11). Other names for this are Lacan's "lack in the Other" and Derrida's "structural undecidability" (Glynos & Howarth, 2008, 11).

5 Foucault's *method of problematization* that combines archaeological and genealogical moments of analysis (Howarth, 2010, 324–325) at the same time shares important family resemblances with the logics of critical explanation approach as a whole.

6 The "*logics of critical explanation*" approach is a response to claims of a normative and methodological deficit in discourse theory. For Howarth, Glynos & Griggs (2016, 99), this approach provides us with a "*perspective on ethical critique and normative evaluation* [going] *beyond the strategy of simply inverting existing hierarchies and binary oppositions to project more positive ontopolitical presumptions*".

practice along a synchronic axis, political logics account for its emergence, constitution, and reproduction or subversion along a diachronic axis, and fantasmatic logics explain the ways in which it seduces subjects at a non-rational level (Glynos and Howarth, 2007, 141; Clarke, 2012, 174).

For Laclau (2008, 105), social logics involve "*a rarefied system of statements, that is, system of rules drawing a horizon within which some of the objects are representable while others are excluded*" and so "*consist in rule-following*". By rules, we do not mean "*reified entities that subsume practices*", but a focus that enables us to describe and characterize them (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, 139). In summary, with social logics we "*aim to capture the 'patterning' of social practices, where such practices are understood in this regard as a function of the contextualized self-interpretations of key subjects*" (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, 140).

According to Laclau (2008, 106), political logics are related to the "*institution* of the social". But this means that they are also involved in "*its possible de-institution or contestation*" (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, 142), connected to the "*political dimension of social relations*" that indicates "*the limits of a social formation*" through "*a dislocatory moment*" (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, 143). Dislocation in this context signifies the presence of "the real" in Lacanian terms, a moment when a sense "*that things are not quite right*" emerges with "*the researcher or the subject affected by the dislocation*": "*Political logics thus formalize our understanding of the ways in which dislocation is discursively articulated or symbolized*" (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, 143). There are two types of political logics: logics of equivalence and logics of difference. The former captures the substitutive aspect of relations between discursive elements by constructing and privileging antagonistic relations ("*an 'us-them' axis*") (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, 144). This means a politicization and simplification of the social space, where very disparate elements, demands, groups, and identities are made equivalent, their identities practically exhausted, in their opposition "*to a common enemy*" (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, 144). On the other hand, the logics of difference capture the combinatory aspect of relations between discursive elements, and seek to prevent and break down chains of equivalences or the "*articulation of demands and identities into a generalized challenge to the dominant regime*" (Glynos & Howarth, 2008, 12). The two dimensions of equivalence and difference are "*always present*" ("*each presupposes the other*") and they stress "*the dynamic process*" of constructing, stabilizing, strengthening, or weakening of political frontiers (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, 144).

With fantasmatic logics we try "*to capture the way subjects organize their enjoyment*" to show why specific practices "*'grip' subjects*" (Glynos & Howarth, 2008, 13). They are about the force behind signifying operations and they add to our understanding of social practices' resistance to change ("*the 'inertia'*") and the direction of change if it happens (the energy, "*'vector' of political practices*") (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, 145–7). According to Žižek (1989, 47), paraphrasing Lacan, fantasy is "*the last support of what we call 'reality'*". Its role is to fill up or complete "*the void in the subject and the structure of social relations by bringing about closure*" (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, 146). In other words, fantasmatic logics reinforce the social dimension "*by covering over the fundamental lack in reality and keeping at bay what we have labelled the 'real'*" or "*concealing the radical contingency of social relations*" (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, 146). Ontically they appear in many different forms, but in general they have a horrific and a beatific dimension. The former provides a narrative of doom, if the enemy or obstacle in question is not overcome, or, alternatively, bliss, "a fullness-to-come", if the obstacle is defeated (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, 147).

Needless to say, such a description of our approach is schematic at best, but it allows us to frame the claims of our introduction and gives meaning to the rest of the article. We started with a problematization of the dominant narratives about the practices, meaning, and consequences of the BRI, which established the latter as a problem worthy of investigation. What we can claim according to our ontological and methodological commitments is that the BRI is a distinctive social and political practice, and part of the hegemonic regimes of the PRC and economic globalization. Its purpose is to defend, stabilize, maintain, and transform these regimes or their identity by covering over their radical contingency. This leads us to embark on an articulation of logics to provide a critical explanation of the BRI's practices within these mentioned contexts (regimes), firstly by taking a closer look at the document *Visions and Actions* (2015).

The Belt and Road Initiative through the lens of discourse theory

Constructing universal harmony, constructing universal China: global "win-win" ambitions of the BRI

The *Contents* portion of the document *Visions and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road* (Visions and Actions, 2015) presents its structure as follows: Preface, I. Background, II. Principles, III. Framework, IV. Cooperation Priorities, V. Cooperation Mechanisms, VI. China's Regions in Pursuing Opening-Up, VII. China in Action, VIII. Embracing a Brighter Future Together.

These headings *prima facie* do not sound groundbreaking; nevertheless they already imply the overarching line of argument, made explicit in the body of the

document. As already mentioned, the *spirit* of the BRI proposal, officially, is a simultaneously common-sense, novel, inclusive, economic, non-political, win-win, pluralistic, ethical, and moral way to connect people, regions, nations, countries, cultures, business (public and private), and other interested parties (cities, universities, international and regional organizations, political parties, etc.). It aims to better the economy and "*lives*" of *all* included (and even everyone else, because the bettering of the included heightens the prosperity of "*mankind*" and "*world community*" as a whole) in the most universal sense. And "*China*" has "*principles*", a "*framework*", "*priorities*", and "*mechanisms*", and takes "*actions*" to achieve such "*cooperation*", seen as part of furthering domestic "*opening up*" (also promoting "*regions*"), and actively "*embracing a brighter future together*" globally (Visions and Actions, 2015).

All this is urgently needed given the "*background*" of "*complex and profound changes*" which "*are taking place in the world*", brought about by the unceasing "*impact of the international financial crisis*", "*uneven*" "*global development*", and major changes in the "*international trade and investment landscape and rules for multilateral trade*" (Visions and Actions, 2015: Background, 1st paragraph). The BRI is committed to "*the trend towards a multipolar world*", "*economic globalization*", "*cultural diversity*", "*greater IT application*", upholding "*the global free trade regime and the open world economy*", "*orderly and free flow of economic factors*", "*efficient allocation of resources and deep integration of markets*", "*economic policy coordination*" between countries, "*in-depth regional cooperation of higher standards*", and "*jointly creating an open, inclusive, and balanced regional economic cooperation architecture that benefits all*" (Visions and Actions, 2015: Background, 2nd paragraph). "*China*" as a country whose "*economy is closely connected with the world economy*" will expand its "*opening-up*" and "*integrate itself deeper into the world economic system*" to "*strengthen its mutually beneficial cooperation with countries in Asia, Europe and Africa and the rest of the world*" (Visions and Actions, 2015: Background, 4th paragraph). This is in line with the United Nations (UN) Charter and China's contribution to "*peace and development of mankind*", and its commitment to shouldering more "*responsibilities and obligations within its capabilities*" (Visions and Actions, 2015: Background, 4th paragraph). Nevertheless "*the Silk Road Spirit*" is the spirit of the ancient Silk Road ("*peace and cooperation, openness and inclusiveness, mutual learning and mutual benefit*") and "*a historic and cultural heritage shared by all countries around the world*" (Visions and Actions, 2015: Preface, 1st paragraph).

Similar meaning is dispersed throughout the whole document in word-by-word iterations or some alternative word choices with similar implications ("*win-win cooperation*", "*promotion of common development and prosperity*", "*mutual understanding and trust*", "*mutual learning and mutual benefit*", "*mutual political trust*", "*cultural inclusiveness*", "*harmonious and friendly cultural environment*", "*tolerance among civilizations*", "*principles of seeking common ground*", "*community of shared interests, destiny and responsibility*", "*common security*", "*respecting each other's sovereignty and security concerns*", "*road towards peace and friendship*", etc.).

According to the document (Visions and Actions, 2015: Cooperation Priorities), the "*cooperation priorities*" of all involved in the BRI should be "*promotion of policy coordination*", "*facilities connectivity*", "*unimpeded trade*", "*financial integration*" and "*people-to-people bonds*", which are public relations with various audiences.[7] On the other hand, in "*Cooperation mechanisms*", "*China*" vows to use and strengthen the existing bilateral and multilateral cooperation mechanisms, and the role of forums, exhibitions, and other platforms. The document also states that the BRI is committed to improving "*the openness of the Chinese economy*" through a more balanced development of all of its regions, for example:

> *We should make good use of Xinjiang's geographic advantages and* […] *make it a key transportation, trade, logistics, culture, science and education center, and a core area on the Silk Road Economic Belt* (Visions and Actions, 2015: China's Regions in Pursuing Opening-Up, 2nd paragraph).

Many other provinces are mentioned further on, including the "*Taiwan region*". Coastal regions and their cities in particular are singled out as intended leaders in international competition and a "*main force in the BRI*" (Visions and Actions, 2015: China's Regions in Pursuing Opening-Up, 4th paragraph).

Last but not least, all of these goals cannot be achieved without joining "hands to make the Silk Road an environment-friendly one" by including the promotion of "ecological progress", "*balanced and sustainable development*", "green and low-carbon infrastructure construction and operation management", "*conserving eco-environment, protecting biodiversity, and tackling climate change*" (Visions and Actions, 2015).

7 The "*Chinese government*" and/or "*President Xi Jinping and Premier Li Keqiang*" have been very active in terms of these priorities. Countless events have already taken place to conduct high-level guidance facilitation through high-level diplomacy, to establish cooperation frameworks through signing numerous MOUs and propositions for regional cooperation plans, and to promote project cooperation through enhanced communication and consultation with countries along the BRI on the topics of infrastructure, investment, resources, trade cooperation, culture, ecology, etc. (Visions and Actions, 2015: China in Action).

At this point we could find ourselves wondering: what is there to frown upon in such a noble enterprise, its aspirations and ambitions? We can start answering this question by initially recognizing that the narrative of the document in question is also a dominant discourse, or an attempt to build one, as part of the Xi administration's boldest attempt at a hegemonic regime. To put it another way, if we take "*another look*" at the document, we will find many very telling contradictions and (inconvenient) omissions that need to be addressed. For example, while not explicitly stated in this document (an omission that, in itself, is very telling), the PRC is at the same time Confucian, socialist, democratic, one-party, market-oriented, green, and "*open*" – "*since always*" (historic Silk Road) and increasingly so (the BRI). Its leaders do everything in the name of the "*people*" and even "*mankind*", which, at this time, also means enacting one of the most all-encompassing camera-surveillance, face-recognition, and censorship programs in the world, building up military capabilities, requiring "*reeducation camps*" in the Xinjiang province, continuing to burn coal and expanding oil-burning transport infrastructure, suppressing hundreds of environmental protests and workers' organizations (which also means suppressing the actions of people with the most literal interpretation of the socialist ideology), praising the post-WWII international order as good while calling for its reformation, and so on. With this in mind, we can finally flesh out the social, political, and fantasmatic logics of the BRI.

Social, political and fantasmatic logics of the BRI

We can identify the social logics that structure various practices of the BRI as follows: win-win co-operation, harmony (or harmonization), and economic development. If we further disaggregate the mentioned concepts and the reasons why we investigate the practices characterized by these three concepts, we can see that the logics sediment and naturalize a commonsense of domestic and international (investment) practices, such as building bridges, roads, ports, developing technology, investing abroad, giving loans to developing and poor countries, etc., which are all part of the BRI. The logics operate in a way that downplays the top-to-bottom nature of decision-making in specific BRI projects, as well as the one-sided, elite agenda-setting in the BRI, with neither democratic participation and control, nor clear and transparent rules (this is also enabled by a kind of case-by-case logic or approach to specific cases, which does not establish unified rules on who exactly should and could participate, and under what conditions). The notion that there are no losers in these practices also becomes a kind of preemptive defense against any possible accusations of obvious harm done to those who slipped through its all-inclusiveness and any culpability in the violation of their human rights, especially when it comes to partners from the EU.[8] Furthermore, respect for "*different developmental plans*" seems to imply unproblematic compatibility between them, without the need to consider the vast differences in power, influence, stage of development, or political systems between the places of origin of such plans. To put it another way, the logics also operate by including the mentioned developmental plans, but also all regions, ethnicities, cultures, civilizations, biodiversity, environment, religions, the media, universities, etc., which presents them as being harmonious and a function of non-ideological economic development and growth, and once again annihilates their political (subversive) potential (as we will claim more clearly when addressing the political and fantasmatic logics). It establishes the identities and meaningful actions of politicians (on the left and the right), diplomats, economists, entrepreneurs, journalists, scientists, researchers, teachers, professors, students, and all kinds of enlightened and traditional communities as being cooperative with the BRI. With this they become willing objects of the objectively higher forces of globalization and the market, except in places where China decides they need (temporary) regulation. If they fail to develop, it will be because they have failed to cooperate with the harmonizing forces of the BRI: which, again, downplays the social and structural aspects of the availability of development and places the blame on these individual actors.

Addressing the political logics (of the BRI) adds another layer to our critical explanation. There are many *obvious* and *less obvious* (radical) exclusions, omissions, contradictions, hierarchies, and possible antagonisms that the document (Visions and Actions, 2015) covers over, domesticates, and harmonizes within the dynamics of equivalence and difference. The most obvious is the production of a universal "we", "us", who together have a "common destiny" achieved through the BRI. This "we" sneaks in seamlessly, being used interchangeably to refer to the Chinese administration, China, and the countries along the Belt and

8 To make the claim less abstract, let us examine it with concrete grievances in mind. A report by the UNPO (2019) inspects three cases in detail. In the case of the expansion of the deep-water sea-port in Gwadar as part of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, the project is being implemented without considering the predicament of the local Baloch people (serious human rights violations as the result of continuous regional conflicts). The second case describes the arbitrary detention of Muslim Uyghurs in Xinjiang in order to prepare the environment for projects like the Urumqi International Land Port. The third case is about the ambition of the German city of Duisburg to become China's gateway to Europe without reflecting on the fact that many related practices are in contrast with the city's constitutional obligations, making it complicit with the human rights violations. These grievances nevertheless already bring us to the political logics, because they are a possible way of contesting the integration efforts of the BRI discourse.

Road, making them all the same, or even one, in the quest for development and cooperation for the sake of mankind and world community. The list of what "we should" and "we will" do is included in the document and becomes particularly pertinent, even urgent. This discourse thus interpellates "everybody" into subject positions, such as rational economic actors who fight for the environment, harmony and equality, and who logically seek development by turning to China as their "objective" partner/leader. As already stressed, any differences in developmental and political plans, stages and systems, culture, religion, geography, ethnicity, etc., which could spur antagonism, at this point seemingly lose their political dimension, getting played down by everything "mutual" and "win-win": mutual respect, learning, trust, friendship, cooperation, benefit, etc. On the other hand, this dynamic can change when these actors become united in the fight against an enemy, which is less explicit at this point but can nevertheless be easily produced or identified. If the countries along the Belt and Road are united in striving for universal development, then the enemies of such common development are and can easily become "our" enemies. Since the BRI is a plan to achieve more development regionally and across countries, opponents of the BRI become "our" opponents. Therefore, although lacking in direct "*revolutionary*" language with an embodied enemy, the "dimension of difference is still weakened", "*whether differences are understood as a function of demands or identities*", and a frontier between "us" and "them" can easily be drawn at any time or due to a dislocatory event[9] (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, 144).

Often the document (Visions and Actions, 2015) stresses the most vigorously that which it lacks the most. To put it differently, certain signifiers, like "development" and "cooperation", stand in for the "absent fullness of a dislocated community" (Laclau, 2008, 137). Laclau (2008, 137) calls them empty signifiers and they are "*moments of naming in a radical sense – they strive to represent the failure of a signifying system*" (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, 122). In this sense, we can claim that the official representation of the BRI as a "*pluralistic and open process of cooperation which can be highly flexible, and does not seek conformity*" (Visions and Actions, 2015, VII. Embracing a brighter future together, 2nd paragraph) is an attempt to close the threatening structural lack made visible with the dislocatory financial crisis of 2007/2008.[10] At the same time it is a domestication of (possible future) dislocations, like new economic, ecological, and climate crises, inter-ethnical and inter-national rivalries, mass democratic protests, demands for more equally distributed gains of development, etc. By doing this, the document addresses common and very loud critiques of the globalized capitalist system and puts forward its own "*new models of international cooperation and global governance*" (Visions and Actions, 2015, I. Background, 2nd paragraph). It appears that China wants to have its cake and eat it too, because it wants to "*uphold the global free trade regime and the open world economy*" (Visions and Actions, 2015, I. Background, 2nd paragraph) and integrate further in the existing international system, but also bring it into multipolarity, make it more equitable, and even-out the uneven development. In other words, a revisionist omission claims that the current system is unipolar, unjust, and brings about inequality and ecological doom. Luckily, China has a strategy for rectifying this, but the problems are so great that they can easily become seen as needing drastic measures. It is political in a way that contests[11] the particular combination of Western-led global organization and norms, and keeps away any possible contestations of its own particular combination of organization and norms, thus strengthening the preferred *status quo* at home and constructing itself as a benevolent alternative globally.[12] What stays the same in both worlds is a commitment to "the market", which stays a naturally "democratic" force for good, further romanticized in the revival of the cosmopolitan openness of the historic Silk Road.

9 This is already very obvious if we read some of the more recent *Opinions* in the CPC-controlled *Global Times*, and in the arguably new confrontational diplomatic culture ("Wolf-warrior diplomacy"), which is often used to rebuke the blaming of China for the Covid-19 pandemic (Global Times, 2020). Before that, an infamous leaked internal CPC document titled *Document 9* (China File, 2013) made the sorely needed enemies explicit. Among them were Western values and ideas of freedom, civil society, journalism, constitutional democracy, human rights, "historical nihilism", and neoliberalism – and their carriers, such as some embassies, non-governmental organizations, color revolutions, foreign media, anti-government forces, dissidents, etc. All were made equal against the chain of China, development, Chinese characteristics, the Party, the people, nation, etc.

10 Let's not forget that the PRC decided to join the economic globalization at least since beginning the process of joining the WTO, and has been implementing some "capitalistic elements" ever since the reforms of 1978.

11 All of this is possible because the financial crisis of 2007/2008 was a dislocation that made numerous contingent ideological elements or floating signifiers (former moments of the neoliberal economic globalization discourse) available for articulation by opposed political projects striving to give meaning to them. And in the case of the BRI, an obvious hegemonic logic is at play – a logic that constructs "*political alliances and coalitions between differently positioned social actors" and "disparate sets of particular demands*" within a common and "more universal political project" (Howarth, 2005, 323–324).

12 Such rearticulation of globalization is also an ideological covering over of the visible contingency of its own ultimate goal of "*deepening*" its "*opening up*", i.e. being totally open and developed (as the developed countries, while representing the ideal of what it means to be developed, are also corrupting such "*Chineseness*"). This is needed to establish and protect a very current version of the "*authentically*" Chinese order (dream, way, and model), which also still claims to fulfill all of its responsibilities as a responsible stakeholder and member of the, ideally, still neoliberal global economic order.

This attitude is a part of maintaining what is called by the Lacanian scholar Wu Guanjun (2014, 270) a discourse of China's "*civilizational subjectivity*". It includes "Chinese values", "*the China way*", "*the Chinese model*" or, as specified by scholar Gan Yang, a fusion of traditions of Confucius, Mao Zedong, and Deng Xiaoping. Its current incarnations are the connected discourses of the Chinese dream and the BRI. In such hegemonic discourse "*Chinese characteristics*" work as an empty signifier that articulates everything and anything that could be deemed incompatible with socialism.[13] With that in mind, we must interrogate the interrelated practices of the BRI and the regime of China's civilizational subjectivity about their genealogy, their historical conditions of (im)possibility, and their "forgotten" political dimension of institution, contestation and transformation.

As stated in *Visions and Actions* (2015), Xinjiang, home of Uyghurs and other minorities, is an important part of the BRI. But the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (OHCHR, 2018) found that for combating "*religious extremism*" and maintaining "*social stability*", Xinjiang became a "*no rights zone*", where Uyghurs and other Muslims "*were being treated as enemies of the State based on nothing more than their ethno-religious identity*". What is more, this current fact has a long history, which makes obvious that the all-inclusive discourse of the BRI is also a further attempt, heavily supported by the global fight against terrorism, to forcefully domesticate this non-Han culture. The PRC and the BRI depend on this exclusion constitutively, and Han-domination is the naturalized norm, existing in many invisible and sedimented social practices.[14] Reeducation camps also come with forced labor, which also makes the natural-resources-rich Xinjiang a bottomless reservoir of cheap labor, needed for maintaining China's "*competitiveness*" because of the rising wages in other provinces.

Moreover, such practices are made possible by the CPC's "*forgetfulness*" of its own imperialism at the time of its formation. Namely, after the revolutions of 1911, which ended the millennia-old empire, the place of the symbolic power became empty. "*Total collapse of the indicators of certainty*" (the "*century of humiliation*", a period of subjugation of China between 1839 and 1949) and a diminished possibility that this power could once again be embodied in a particular body (as before in the emperor's, who was the "*son of Heaven*") brought about the establishment of an expansive hegemony (Torfing, 1999, 192). For this to be possible, the empty signifiers of "*the nation*" and "*the people*", which are nodal points in the discourse of modernity, were hegemonized by being "*filled*" with particular content with which people can identify. Nationalism can be defined as a myth, which offers these two empty signifiers a specific substantial embodiment. It points at exercising particular social and political acts for the sake of a particular ethos (to be, in this case, Chinese) and a particular imagined national space (China as the place of "*Chineseness*") (Torfing, 1999, 193).

But the universality of "*society*" can only be captured by an empty signifier when the latter also signifies the radically excluded, the other, by which it delineates an "*inside*", an equivalence between different elements, from a threatening outside. In the context of the Communist overtaking of the symbolic power this meant that the "*inner*" enemies (the "*foreign*" Qing dynasty, the "*feudal*" celestial government in general and "*the class of traitors connected with international capitalism*" (Hunt, 1996, 214)) were pitted antagonistically against reason and modernization, which would be leading the progress and development of the Chinese people (equivalent chain of farmers, workers, soldiers, students, intellectuals, local rulers, rebel groups and revolutionary organizations, etc.), and their liberation from their main enemy: imperialism and its representatives (Western powers and Japan). Mythical communist discourse became a social imaginary, which meant that there were almost no limits to all the possible desires, demands, hopes, and dreams that could be projected into this ideological surface by the "*people*".

This meant that the 1949 constitution of a nation-state and a distinct and unified Chinese nationality (Han majority and 55 other ethnic minorities) did not give up notions of Chinese exceptionalism, where marveling at China's pure size and population (*di da, ren duo* – vast territory, big population) was crucial. The vastness of the former multiethnic empire continued after 1949, where tradition was often iconoclastically disavowed, and modernization was everything. But this, as pointed out by Perdue (2003, 52), is artificially constructed and impoverishes our understanding of complex cultural processes that were constitutive of "*everything Chinese*". In short, there have always been interactions across borders, and traditions have never stood still. Also, there were numerous characteristics and attempts at reforms in the Qing dynasty which repeated themselves in the 20th century in the reforms

13 Again, these could be the reforms made since 1978, the formerly "*feudal*" Confucian elements, non-democratic government, total control and ownership of the media, elaborate high-tech systems of social control, restrictions on the freedom of speech and on the rights of workers to organize, restriction of mass protests, etc. Such discourse at the same time very conveniently dispels the "*side effects*" of a particular, not at all "*universal*" development, like pollution and climate change, enormous disparities between the poor inner regions of China, like Xinjiang, and rich eastern and southern regions, the displacement of whole villages if needed (for development), "*reeducation camps*" for Muslims, the insatiable need for migrant workers, etc., which all become transient and repairable by means of even more socialism with Chinese characteristics.

14 Several books could be written on the history and complexities of Chinese racism (more in Dikötter, 1992).

of modern China in the 80's and 90's. Perdue's point is that modern Chinese historiography, important for Chinese nationalism until today, ignores many alternatives that could fill the empty universal space, shaping what now seems like destiny into something very different (a simple look at Japan, where modernization, democracy, and monarchy still coexist, or the controversial example of constitution of Taiwan, are proof of that). Most of all, communism was equally "*foreign*" and far from the only "*-ism*" that took root in China at the end of the traditional empire. The 1919 mass protests that grew into the "*May Fourth Movement*", the "*spirit*" of which is still part of the slogans of the CPC, was a mixture of many opposing ideas, but one of the most important ones was a call to unite for democracy, individualism, and science, and against Confucianism and imperialism. To put it another way, dislocation of the deepest kind brought about many different articulations of disarticulated moments of traditional and Western discourses into new discourses on how to "*save*" China. As already stated, the most successful was the one emerging later as the internationally recognized PRC. What's more, Mao Zedong established himself as the "*objective*" and "*destined*" leader of the PRC through very "*creative*" articulations of the orthodox communist theory[15] and loathed Chinese traditions. In his version of Marxism-Leninism, the anti-imperialist rhetoric was always creatively supplemented with Legalist, Confucian, and Daoist concepts, common idioms, legends, stories, etc. (Mao, 1945).

The latter is important to better explain the current reliance on harmony as almost exclusive to Chinese "*thought*" or "*dream*" (Xi, 2017, 3). As argued by Jana Rošker (2014), modern revivals of Confucian thought, included in the notions of harmonious society and similar, are a very particular ideological appropriation of a very complex tradition. They are primarily a kind of preemptive, top-down filling of a value-vacuum after the reforms of 1978, where profit and the market increasingly became crucial parts of the socialist revolution (thereby alienating people from traditional socialist values like equality, solidarity, etc.). What's more, this is a kind of "crime", one that steals "*people's history*" and with it the "*possibility of an autonomous life*" (Rošker, 2014, 22). The reason for this harsh critique lies in the historical fact that this official discourse of Confucianism depends on ignoring the differences between what Rošker labels an original philosophy, its many historical variations, and a state doctrine. As a philosophy it first emerged in the 4th century BC, and strived for a society based on communitarian values of *ren* (benevolence, humaneness) and *yi* (justice). Later, two main branches emerged, one following the thought of Mengzi and the other, that of Xunzi. In short (Rošker, 2014, 22), the main difference between the two branches is that while they both believed in the power of socialization, the former held that this should be achieved through egalitarian, "democratic" education, while Xunzi strived for strict punishment and discipline. Xunzi is therefore known as representing a bridge between Confucianism and Legalism, an absolutistic doctrine which led the first unification of the ethnically, politically, and economically diverse area into one common despotic empire under the Qin dynasty (221 BC). The Qin dynasty was quickly defeated by the Han dynasty (206 BC-220 AD), where a version of Confucianism, based on Xunzi and including many of the autocratic and despotic state-building elements of Legalism, was articulated as the state doctrine. The same can be said for the current revival of Confucian notions in the official language of the PRC. Alternatively, philosophies based on the ideas of Mengzi are still being developed in Taiwan and Hong Kong, often in the light of critical questioning of the capitalist free market's mechanisms and the value of greed it naturalizes (Rošker, 2014, 25).

And this – harmonization being the social logic of the BRI, which articulates the wholeness of the Chinese society and its visions and lessons for humanity, and implicitly or explicitly points at the relativity of Western-origin human rights, mutual non-exclusivity of development, globalization, and environmental protection, and the particularity of Western-origin discipline of International Relations[16] – brings us to

15 The construction of "the people" in the Mao Zedong Thought had to solve the problem of the identity of the mobilized masses, which did not strictly coincide with class identity (Laclau & Mouffe, 1987, 56). The solution came through different discursive strategies. Equivalence among peasants, workers, and soldiers diminished their different and even potentially antagonistic interests, and internationally expanded into revolutionary proletariat, which enabled even more effective suturing of the structure (reconstitution of order) and, very specifically, could get material (military) support from the "brotherly" Soviet Union.

16 An official Confucianist revival like this has support among some Chinese scholars in considerations of "international relations with Chinese characteristics" (Qin, 2010; 2018; 2020). Articulated by mixing elements of the discipline of IR and practices of international diplomacy with ancient Chinese thought, it ambitiously criticizes Western "taxonomic thinking" and "conflictual dialectics" as being insufficient to account for the complexities of 21st century global politics (Qin, 2010, 134–138). Mutually exclusive categories and binary oppositions (for example, Western vs. non-Western, democratic vs. non-democratic, market vs. non-market, etc.), combined with particularly hostile international politics (where one of the mutually exclusive poles is always better than the other), are not self-evident in the traditional Chinese context. The Chinese complimentary dialectics presupposes a harmony of poles, a unity as represented in the diagram taiji. In this representation of the yin-yang principle, the poles are never strictly exclusive to one another, but are always in a dynamic process of change and mutual codependence. This can lead to a different kind of politics, one where such notions as a "peaceful rise" are not considered oxymoronic.

the next related point of explanatory logics, the logic of fantasy.[17] When taking the fantasmatic logics into account, we claim that social logics and practices constitutively depend on them. As summarized by Glynos & Howarth (2007, 107), "*one condition for subscribing to an existing or promised social practice concerns the extent to which it can tap into the subject's existing mode of enjoyment and thus fantasmatic frame*".

The operation of fantasmatic logics is obvious in the assertions of the BRI being a plan for universal prosperity. The "*suggestion of the possible fulfillment of all needs and the satisfaction of all demands*" is depoliticization for political purposes at its purest, one that is also a familiar neoliberal strategy (Clarke, 2012, 184). We can describe it as the fantasy of "*illusory harmony*", where "*imaginarizations of abundance and excess*" remain "*the vehicle of our (personal, social, and political) desire*" (Stavrakakis, 2005, 187). This fantasy also maintains the illusion that the choice (to have this abundance and harmony) is equally available to all, no matter their social class, ethnicity, politics, etc., which puts a firm "*grip*" on all the "*not-yet-developed*". Another fantasmatic logic is also at work in the enumeration of the actions "*China*" has taken to bring about this promised prosperity for all. Their abundance is also a kind of illusory efficiency, where there is no room to report on the messy details of the specific projects, such as local grievances that cooperation under the BRI is not at all win-win. Furthermore, joining incompatible elements is a typical way for subjects to cope with this impossibility (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, 148). Aspects of social reality connected with fantasmatically structured enjoyment often possess contradictory features, in our case, as mentioned: being part of globalization while providing alternative globalization, being a fighter against climate change while planning to open more coal mines and expand traffic, being socialist while repressing workers' mass organizing, etc.

We could identify many more fantasmatic logics at this "*micro level*" of the analyzed document, but this level depends on the wider regime, where the empty signifier is China itself. So, for the sake of brevity, we can bring our argument to conclusion with the help of Wu (2014). In his book *The Great Dragon Fantasy*, Wu researches the many intellectual currents of post-Mao China to conclude that they all (still) strive to solve "*the China problem*" (Wu, 2014, 122–123). What is more, Wu believes that leaning on the project of modernization and imagining China as a "*nation on its way to bright future*" is a common fantasy of China's intellectuals and officials until this day. This "*great dragon fantasy*"[18] captures a desire to "*see the reality clearly*" and "*to see the Real*", and it contains unreflected temporal and spatial tensions (tradition-modernity, China-the West, etc.). In the original song that the book's title references, the civilizational essence of China, "*Chineseness*", is performed as lost and effectively works as object-cause of desire, or the object of fantasy (Wu, 2014, 317–318).

Meanwhile, if we take a leap to the "*other side*" of the prominent antagonism of China in global, world, or international affairs, we can see that China is the one accused of stealing our enjoyment. Surely, otherwise, such common social practices as infrastructure building, lending, investing, opening development banks and multilateral platforms, supporting high-tech innovation, etc., could not bring about such excitement, or indeed, be pulled from the supposed ideological neutrality of the economy into the "*much too human*" conduct of politics. China is even stealing alliances, as shown by the participation of many Western countries in the BRI. In other words, it steals what the "*leader of the free world*" is hopelessly trying to protect as its identity (which is power) and to validate its even less compatible practices like fighting wars, etc. It seems that all of a sudden, the West suffers "*more*", because the non-white, non-developed, non-democratic China maybe "*got globalization wrong*", so it "*slants the playground*" (and even unleashes pandemics), and leads to doom (fantasy of horrific enjoyment).

The move is needed because "*how we relate to 'our Thing' will be vital for how we relate to others and their identifications*" (Howarth, Glynos & Griggs, 2016, 102) and "*every utopian fantasy produces its reverse and calls for its elimination*" (Stavrakakis, 1999, 100). This brings us to the conclusion, where we summarize and contextualize our findings while explicating some aspects of ethical critique and normative evaluation, implied in the articulation of explanatory logics.

CONCLUSION

Our analysis of the changing face of the PRC's global perspective and practices started by problematizing the dominant renderings of the BRI as observed in numerous official Chinese documents, most explicitly in the document *Visions and Actions* (2015). In short, to the Chinese political elite, the initiative is a unique, non-

17 Inclusion of the logic of fantasy enables us to overcome the usual limitations of various types of discourse analysis, which are already very good at showing the various double standards, webs of contradictions, logics of metaphor and metonymy, etc., but lack the power to answer questions like the ones Laclau and Žižek attempted to answer: "*What accounts for the power with which a hegemonic (ideological) formation exercises its hold over subjects?*" (Glynos, 2001, 199). Part of the answer surely lies in the pressures, violence, threat of punishment, and censorship, which are part of the PRC and many other systems of rule, but at the same time they too operate as social practices in the common sense of formerly enumerated social logics.

18 Wu (2014) named the fantasy after a popular song from the 1980's, called *Longdechuan ren* or "Descendants of the Dragon" (by Hou Dejian).

hegemonic, scientific, moral, and benevolent path to achieving global prosperity for all, which is also in line with the principles of the UN Charter and the rules of the international economic order. On the other hand, China's development in general and the BRI in particular are deemed to be a threat by numerous scholars, journalists, and non-Chinese politicians, who claim, sometimes simultaneously, that the PRC is taking over the world and collapsing under its own contradictions. For example, such arguments were cherry-picked by the Trump administration to blame China for everything from the United States' deteriorating domestic economy to unleashing the Covid-19 pandemic.

Our analysis shows that by using the logics of critical explanation, it is possible to conclude that the Chinese economic miracle is a revelation of the radical contingency of "*the economy*", proof of its political institution and reproduction, which was "*forgotten*" as part of the expansive logics of neoliberal globalization and its "*human face*" version in liberal democracy. It also cuts through many of the underlying propositions of the (competing) paradigms in International Relations, which are selectively adopted in politics (left, right, and center): the PRC is a (relatively or, at least, seemingly) stable non-democracy with successful state-led capitalist participation (and even possible global leadership), while the notion of liberal democracy as the end of history justified the "opening" of China in the West even after the 1989 Tiananmen massacre. This brought about the very profitable "*Chimerica*", a codependence of USA as the hi-tech "*brain*" and PRC as the "*world factory*" of the global economy.

Furthermore, clashes between the USA and the PRC, particularly intense in the years under Donald Trump, are reactions to the visibility of the lack in the discourse of neoliberal globalization (also painfully revealed in the dislocations of the 2007/2008 financial crisis), the current management of the Covid-19 pandemic, and the much slower-burning threat of the ultimate dislocation, that of the climate. Similarly, "*rational*" actors and remnants of the "*third way*" politics hoping for a return of the *status quo*, criticize the PRC for "*politicizing*" the otherwise non-political neoliberal economy (by prioritizing state companies and otherwise intervening "into" the economy). Meanwhile, the "*populist*" Trump already used this realization of a re-politicized economy to get elected as the president of the USA. Still, he also needed a strong enemy to mobilize his electorate and to reconcile its very disparate demands "*inside*" his leadership "*of the free world*". In short, in both cases the PRC, with its "*dangerous*" articulation of the economy, is a very convenient threatening "*other*" who "*steals*" American enjoyment.

On the other hand, PRC representatives are now accusing critics of the BRI, including Trump, of politicizing the "*economic*", developmental BRI and its aspirations for universal social harmony, and of promoting protectionism. Still, China managed to get over the crisis of 2007/2008 fairly quickly because it never did "*open*" entirely, as market fundamentalists would have liked, and it started to propose its own regional and international strategies, which was a change from the strategy of strengthening "*from within*" first.

The PRC has managed, and continues to manage, that with distinctive discursive strategies, which we analyzed at the point of the symbolic document *Visions and Actions* (2015). These visions and actions rely on social logics of harmony (harmonization), economic development, and win-win cooperation. They represent a particular historical and hierarchical discourse of human prosperity, which strives to be universal. Despite the claims about its pluralism and equity, such discourse provides an ideological closure (harmony through particular economic development on the condition of the right kind of cooperation). Specifically, to name, identify, and characterize these logics as social logics already is "*to engage in a process with a normative and political valence*", simply by emphasizing "*that the identity of a practice cannot be taken for granted*" (Glynos and Howarth, 2008, 13). A hegemonic attempt at seamlessly uniting everybody, all the different nationalities, cultures, and developmental models, including the climate, environment, education, and media, with the possibility of truly global expansion/inclusion, shamelessly displaces the very material inequalities (economic, social, gender, ethnic, religious, regional, etc.) and possible future sources of dislocations (either as part of alternative expansive counter-hegemonic chains of equivalent demands, or simply events that will not be possible to domesticize, like environmental catastrophes) by making them all a function of joining the BRI and the very particular development, cooperation, and harmony it constructs.

This practice displays what Laclau and Mouffe (1987) name the relations of subordination (practices that appear to not invite public contestation, such as, for example, the normalcy of building certain infrastructure and developing through GDP), domination (keeping specific practices away from public contestation despite being judged as dominating by subjects, such as in off-the-record complaints and cynicism) and oppression (practices are challenged, but these challenges are met with efforts to neutralize them in the name of the *status quo*). Current facts about the "*reeducation camps*" for Muslims in Xinjiang, repression of democratic protests in Hong Kong, repression of environmental protests and workers' organizations, etc., all point at what is beyond the limits of this harmony-to-come. As shown by the entirely non-exhaustive genealogical input as part of analyzing the political logics of the PRC's institution and reproduction, the PRC depends on these exclusions constitutively. What it "*forgets*" and leaves out of its own heroic narration of

history as destiny of the Chinese people under the CPC leadership, lately held together by the empty signifier "*Chinese characteristics*" (but also "*China*", "*the people*"), is the imperialism of its own institution, based on Han-nationality.

That being said, we put forward one aspect of our critique, a reactivation of the options excluded and foreclosed during the emergence and institution of a practice. What is marginalized and partly domesticized, are the many alternatives for imagining and structuring China and Chineseness, which were emerging in the many *"-isms"* of the May Fourth Movement after 1919 (also rekindled in the Tiananmen protests of 1989), as part of many reforms proposals even before 1911, in the different modernization path of Taiwan, and in the many critical or alternative intellectual currents that articulate democratic and Confucian or Daoist elements, etc. What is more, these imaginations are no less "*Chinese*" than the current dominant nationalistic narrative, but for now they are utterly unsuccessful.

The answers as to why that is can be found, at least in part, in many guises of fantasmatic logics, with the most all-encompassing one being "*the great dragon fantasy*" as named by the Lacanian scholar Wu Guanjun. The document *Visions and Actions* (2015) clearly implies that if we all join the BRI, all-around harmony and prosperity will come. If not, the horrific opposite will become even stronger, which is also made explicit in internal texts, like *Document 9*, or the more confrontational reactions of diplomats to "*China bashing*". That scenario is a defeat of harmony and cooperation, persistence of the uneven development and the unipolar world, a loss of humanity, and, more "*internally*", another loss of Chineseness, which has already almost been stolen during the "*century of humiliation*". And, with the stakes and the plausibility of such discourse being high, growth of the GDP (an unchallenged indicator of development) and indisputable economic bettering of lives of millions of people means that the PRC's heroic, moral, and "*scientific*" leadership makes perfect sense.

This promise of ideological closure as part of these fantasmatic narratives that naturalize relations of domination is made even more obvious if confronted with a counter-logic explicated in discourse theory, that is, the logic of a plural and radically democratic community. But this confrontation will have to stay an unresolved task as far as this article is concerned. Still, our goal was to make a point about the need for an ethical facing-up to the political dimension of the (global, Chinese, our, their, etc.) economy and for a reactivation of alternative articulations of conducting (global) politics.

Furthermore, one may notice how such an analysis fits into the, nowadays more and more distinguished, relational presuppositions of International Relations and social sciences as a whole. On the one hand, this is inherent for the approach to the discursive and discourse that we took (Dean, 2004; Martilla, 2015; Wright, 2016).[19] On the other hand, we may add even more examples of genuine Chinese contributions to social and international theory (Morgan, 2004; Huang & Shih, 2014; Wang, 2014; Kavalski, 2017) to those used in our analysis (Qin, 2010; 2018; 2020) that are going in the same direction. This is the very same direction, or a nodal point, that connects the relationality present within diplomatic practices (Neumann, 2002; Adler-Nissen, 2015; Sending, Pouliot & Neumann, 2015) with the relational theoretical underpinnings of the International Relations theory (Jackson & Nexon, 1999) and policy analysis (Selg & Ventsel, 2020). Not going further into this (coincidental) nodal point, which is in need of further exploration and deepening, we expect more dialogue between those relational approaches, which may lead to better mutual understanding of the ontologies and cosmologies of the social disciplines and social agents that are not really engaged with each other at the moment (Trownsell et al., 2019; Kurki, 2020). For that to happen, much more work will be needed to translate and apply the same evaluative standards for the Chinese and post-Western claims (Brglez, 2008, 231; Rutzou, 2015).

Nevertheless, a comparison of our results with the previous results of the discourse analysis of Chinese practices (e.g. Debrix, 2002) further confirms that China is steadily developing from a regional to a global hegemonic power. However, as a difference from the still ongoing practices of both the United States and the EU, it is a power that is more likely to follow the flow than impose its own rules on others (Hodzi & Chen, 2018). Thus, within the developing international legal order, there also exists the opportunity for other actors to engage China (Cai, 2013), despite the inherent indeterminacy and fragmentation of international law (ILC, 2006; Koskenniemi, 2011) and the dependency of its interpretations on the underlying ideological and power relations (Krisch, 2005; Orakhelashvili, 2011). Then the signifier of Chinese "*peaceful development*" (like in Zeng, 2020), one we also spotted in our discourse analysis, may become imbued with a new meaning. This opportunity is still available within relational international practices.

19 While the emphasis on the ontological relational openness (before the analysis) of both – human agency and discursive structure – may lead to their becoming indistinguishable within the process and a "flat" ontology (Patomäki, 2017; 2020; Rutzou & Elder-Vass, 2019), fruitful dialogue with other more structured relational approaches (e.g. critical realist and pragmatic) is still possible (Dépelteu, 2018; Vanderberghe, 2018).

POBUDA *PAS IN POT* LJUDSKE REPUBLIKE KITAJSKE: KRITIČNA ANALIZA SKOZI PRIZMO TEORIJE DISKURZA

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POVZETEK

Najbolj vidna in vseobsegajoča pobuda ekonomske in gospodarske diplomacije Ljudske republike Kitajske (LRK), pobuda Pas in pot, je po besedah uradnih predstavnikov LRK-ja vizionarski, izviren, nepolitičen in dobrohoten načrt za vzpostavitev ekonomske in družbene harmonije doma in po svetu. Slednjo naj bi dosegli z vse večjo »povezljivostjo«, ki bi jo omogočila izvedba številnih infrastrukturnih projektov v več kot 65 državah azijskega, evropskega in afriškega kontinenta. Kljub temu številni akademiki, novinarji in politiki v svojih analizah in ocenah ugotavljajo, da je pobuda Pas in pot predvsem grožnja. V naši analizi ponujamo alternativno problematizacijo te pobude in kritičen pogled nanjo s pomočjo ontoloških izhodišč teorije diskurza, kot sta jih razvila Ernesto Laclau in Chantal Mouffe ter operacionalizirala dva izmed najbolj vidnih predstavnikov t. i. esseške šole analize diskurza, Jason Glynos in David Howarth. Pristop slednjih, poimenovan »logika kritične razlage«, nam omogoča, da presežemo omenjene poenostavljene in reduktivne opredelitve pobude Pas in pot v LRK-ju in izven njega ter ponudimo kritično razlago njene politične pojavitve, transformacije in ohranjanja. Cilj članka je torej pridobitev bolj kompleksnih uvidov v te, doslej najbolj ambiciozne načrte LRK-ja, ter kontekstualizacija naših dognanj v sklopu kitajske in »postevrocentrične« mednarodne politične in družbene teorije.

Ključne besede: Pobuda pas in pot (PP), Ljudska republika Kitajska (LRK), teorija diskurza, družbena nasprotja, dislokacija, relacionizem

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PROBLEMS OF PRECARIOUS JOURNALISTS IN SLOVENIAN NATIONAL NEWS MEDIA

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ABSTRACT

The destandardisation and precarisation of work hold several negative consequences for workers. This paper aims to identify the problems Slovenian precarious journalists face due to their precarious employment situation. The study examines their work–free time balance, involvement in collective actions for workers' rights, and freedom of expression with regard to their precarious employment. In-depth interviews with nine journalists who have worked in precarious relationships in Slovenian national news media for at least 7 years reveal their work interferes with their free time, their involvement in collective bargaining is weak, and they cannot fully exercise their freedom of expression.

Keywords: Precarious journalists, work–life balance, collective bargaining, freedom of expression

PROBLEMI DEI GIORNALISTI PRECARI NEI MEDIA NAZIONALI SLOVENI

SINTESI

La destandardizzazione e la precarizzazione del lavoro comportano diverse conseguenze negative per i lavoratori. Questo articolo mira a identificare i problemi che i giornalisti sloveni precari devono affrontare a causa della loro situazione lavorativa. Lo studio esamina il loro equilibrio tra lavoro e tempo libero, il coinvolgimento in azioni collettive per i diritti dei lavoratori e la libertà di espressione relativa alla loro situazione precaria. Le interviste semi-strutturate, svolte con nove giornalisti che hanno lavorato in relazioni precarie nei mass media nazionali sloveni per 7 anni minimo, rivelano che il loro lavoro precario interferisce con il loro tempo libero, che il loro coinvolgimento nella contrattazione collettiva è debole, e che non possono esercitare pienamente la loro libertà di espressione.

Parole chiave: giornalisti precari, conciliazione vita-lavoro, contrattazione collettiva, libertà di espressione

INTRODUCTION

The economic, political and social pressures created by the rapid globalisation, technological advances and international competition since the 1970s have led to ever more flexible production processes and employment systems denoted by greater reliance on precarious work (e.g. Kalleberg, 2013). Precarity is a problem in culturally different environments (see Uršič et al., 2018) and in different sectors, not only among low-skilled workers but professionals too (see Pavlin, 2018). Employment has become less secure in news media as well (Walters et al., 2006, vi), with precarity being "*a key characteristic of contemporary journalistic work*" (Örnebring, 2018). Journalistic labour in the global news industry takes place within the "*culture of job insecurity*" (Ekdale et al., 2015) and in increasingly precarious conditions where mass layoffs, offshoring, outsourcing and the elimination of open positions have become standard managerial practices (Deuze & Marjoribanks, 2009, 555).

Among the considerable shifts in journalistic labour, one of the most worrying is the growth in the number of individual entrepreneurs, with "*much of it 'forced entrepreneurship' as a result of redundancies and the shrinking pool of available work*" (Rottwilm, 2014, 18). Even though the media industry has been hit hard by the global economic recession, the precarious employment situation is also due to structural organisational changes in the media driven by market logic aimed at cutting costs while increasing productivity and maximising profit. According to Paulussen (2012, 195), the working conditions in journalism are more likely to deteriorate than improve given the economic pressures on the media together with the digital discourse that is promoting the flexibilisation and individualisation of labour.

The Slovenian news media has not been exempted from the precarisation trend in the labour market; journalism has been affected by several factors like privatisation and commercialisation, labour cost pressures, technological changes and associated changes in ways the work is done, structural changes and processes affecting the entire economy – the economic crisis (Ignjatović & Kanjuo Mrčela, 2016, 93) and, more recently, the Covid-19 epidemic. While most prior studies looked at a specific dimension of precarity, the aim of this article is to fill a research gap by identifying the problems Slovenian precarious journalists face due to their precarious employment situation, particularly how they balance their work and free time, their involvement in collective bargaining and possibilities for exercising the right to free expression.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: PRECARIOUS WORK IN JOURNALISM

Precarious work is "*uncertain, unpredictable, and risky from the point of view of the worker*" (Kalleberg, 2009, 2), who bears more risk and receives limited social benefits and statutory entitlements (Kalleberg, 2013, 700). The concept of "precarity" broadly designates "*existential, financial, and social insecurity exacerbated by the flexibilization of labor markets*" (De Peuter, 2011, 418–419); among indices of precarity, one finds income instability, a lack of a safety net, an erratic work schedule, uncertainty about continuing employment, the blurring of work/non-work time and the absence of collective representation. Precarious work is associated with low pay, unstable employment (short-term contracts), limited employability opportunities and constrained social protection rights (pension, health, unemployment insurance) (Keller & Seifert, 2013, 464; Rubery et al., 2018, 510). Being in a precarious situation also means "*being in a status that offers no sense of career, no sense of secure occupational identity and few, if any, entitlements to the state and enterprise benefits*" (Standing, 2014, 41).

The growth of precarious work has led to the demise of certain key elements of the *standard employment relationship* (SER), part-time work infringes on standard work hours, fixed-term and temporary agency work contravene the notion of continuous work, while self-employment disrupts the employment relationship (Vosko, 2010; Kalleberg, 2013). Although the risks of precariousness are considerably higher in atypical forms of employment, the SER is not completely free of them (Keller & Seifert, 2013, 466). Despite providing better income security during work and non-work, a career opportunity, institutional fair treatment and a division between work and non-work time (Rubery et al., 2018, 514), the SER may also be seen as precarious when low wages do not cover the cost of a (decent) life.

Escalated job insecurity has also been detected in journalistic labour, undergoing profound changes particularly due to the digitalisation and commercialisation of the media industry. The accelerating dynamic of reorganisations and reshuffling, buyouts and layoffs, new owners and managers, new work arrangements and budget cuts (Deuze & Witschge, 2018, 172) is promoting "*the rise of more flexible and often precarious forms of employment*" (Rottwilm, 2014, 21) and caused many journalists "*to experience job insecurity and worry about their long-term futures in journalism*" (Ekdale et al., 2015, 383). News work has been "*increasingly characterized by atypical, nonstand-*

ard forms of employment, an ever-growing demand for functional and temporal flexibility to keep pace with the expanding workload and time pressures, and a tendency toward desk-bound office work" (Paulussen, 2012, 203).

A research report on atypical work in the media industry prepared by the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) showed that journalists are increasingly employed in atypical and contingent employment relationships (Walters et al., 2006, v). A survey by the European Federation of Journalists (EFJ) sheds light on the precarious working conditions of journalists working for digital media in Europe; over 60% of respondents say they work overtime and over 50% do not have a full-time employment contract (EFJ, 2015). While working as freelance or self-employed journalists was once a choice made by those seeking autonomy and control over their work, this employment form is now rapidly becoming the only option available, according to Cohen's (2011, 120) research of the media labour force in Canada. The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe has also expressed concerns, observing "*a gradual slide into the precarity of the profession of the journalist*" (Drobinski-Weiss, 2017). Journalists who still enjoy permanent employment are generally senior staffers, who "*work side by side with a host of colleagues in part-time, contract, freelance, temporary, casual, and at times underpaid or unpaid roles*" (Deuze & Witschge, 2018, 171).

The general secretary of the Slovenian Union of Journalists Iztok Jurančič (2017) concluded that the trend of journalistic precarisation is obvious: today, approximately 32% of journalists in Slovenia are working in non-standard employment relationships, while in 2008 their share was around 20%. The rising share of freelancers may be seen as "*a sign of growing number of 'forcedlancers' that cannot choose voluntarily their type of employment, but were forced into it*" (Ignjatović & Kanjuo Mrčela, 2016, 93). While investigating labour relations and processes at the Slovenian public radio broadcaster, Vobič and Slaček Brlek (2014) discovered that "*maintaining various kinds of freelance, informal, and otherwise contingent temporary work arrangements are normal managerial practices in Slovenian public radio, where younger newsworkers and newcomers comply with precarious labour relations and diminishing labour rights*" (Vobič & Slaček Brlek, 2014, 32).

Freelance and independent journalists are in a difficult situation mainly because the payments are too low and often late; it is hard for them to pay contributions for pension, disability and health insurance; they do not have opportunities to improve their skills through additional education; they have a small chance of obtaining a bank loan (Ignjatović & Kanjuo Mrčela, 2016, 96–97). Still, they are not the most vulnerable group since one can also find journalists working without a contract and any social security whatsoever (Ignjatović & Kanjuo Mrčela, 2016, 96–97). Since 2002, Slovenian journalistic professional organisations have regularly called for improved regulation of the precarious working conditions of journalists. Although the state authorities have been acquainted with the issues of precarious work and the proposals to amend legislation, they have thus far failed to address the issue properly and not satisfactorily regulated the problem of precarity (Čeferin et al., 2017).

Research questions

The boundary between work and free time has lately become increasingly permeable in all areas due to technology that enables spatial and temporal work flexibility (Allen et al., 2014). Precarious conditions and flexibility in journalism have made news work more uncertain, and many journalists have experienced unsteady flows of work and income. Due to the unpredictable nature of their work, journalists tend to accept assignments, even though they have enough work already and feel they need to work even when sick (Edstrom & Ladendorf, 2012, 718). Many scholars (see Allen et al., 2014) recognise that the work and free time of individuals are intertwined, interdependent and consistently influence one another. Yet, journalists' free time has remained understudied (see Gollmitzer, 2014, 828) and, therefore, our first research question is: *How do precarious journalists balance between their work and free time?*

One of the central pillars of the SER is the right to free association and collective bargaining (Kalleberg, 2013, 702). Unlike those in a SER, precarious workers are more difficult to organise and represent (Chun & Agarwala, 2015, 636–637). They are also less often members of a trade union (Heery & Abbott, 2000, 155). Thus, "[p]*recarious work poses a serious challenge to improving workers' jobs and livelihoods*" (Chun & Agarwala, 2015, 636). According to Lee-Wright (2012, 39), journalists have "*lost the economic power of well-paid job security [and] the bargaining power of collective solidarity*." When journalism has been faced with savage staff cuts and the rise of precarity, journalists "*have not as a rule attempted to organize collectively to resist these changes*" (Örnebring, 2018). Moreover, journalism is a profession that attracts individual-minded people (Cohen, 2011, 124) and the collective organising of individualists is even more difficult. Our second research question is: *What is precarious journalists' involvement with collective bargaining for workers' rights like?*

Journalists around the world have increasingly been employed atypically and contingently, raising concerns due to the key role news media play in a democracy (Walters et al., 2006, v). Namely, according to the IFJ research report (Walters et al., 2006, 4), insecurity of employment leads to timid reporting and a decline in critical and investigative reporting, while low wages bring a decline in ethical reporting: journalists employed on short-term rolling contracts feel pressured to stick to softer, more commercial stories as they do not wish to jeopardise their chances of contract renewal. Therefore, "*the nature of the employment relationship has had a deleterious effect on the quality of editorial content*" (Walters et al., 2006, 4). Journalists' precarious employment situation has or can hold negative consequences for the quality of journalistic contents, it imperils the watch-dog role of news media and thus represents a threat to freedom of expression (Čeferin et al., 2017). Since freedom of expression is one of the most important human rights, constituting an essential foundation of a democratic society (ECtHR, 1976), our third research question is: *How do precarious journalists see their possibilities of exercising freedom of expression with regard to their precarious employment situation?*

METHODOLOGY

To gain an insight into experiences of journalists who are still working or have worked in a precarious employment relationship, we conducted content analysis of in-depth semi-structured interviews with nine journalists from different national news media in Slovenia.

Respondents were selected using the key criteria of precarious employment as recognised in previous literature (e.g. Vosko, 2010; Kalleberg, 2013; Keller & Seifert, 2013; Standing, 2014). Journalists at an early stage of their career or who were still students were excluded because precarious work may be considered to be more damaging in a long-term atypical employment relationship (Keller & Seifert, 2013, 466). While selecting the respondents, we used a combination of the nonprobability method of snowball and expert sampling, hence we made several consultations with academic media/journalism experts and journalists from different media platforms. In some cases, it was not until already performing the interview that we could establish with certainty whether an interviewee was truly a precarious journalist.

The interviewees were 29 to 35 years old, two male and seven female, all with a university education or higher and all working in journalism for more than 7 years (most of them 10, maximum 17 years), all but two without any children. The interviews were carried out between March and September 2017 by one or both authors of this article. They were taped and then transcribed by Dr Ana Hafner, each lasting between 55 minutes to 2 hours.

Given the topic's sensitivity, particularly the fear that their statements might bring negative consequences for them and make the situation at work even worse, journalists agreed to be interviewed only after promising complete confidentiality. At the time of the interview, some interviewees were also in the process of suing their employer. Therefore, in the results section we protect the interviewees by covering their identity and deleting any data that could lead to their identity being disclosed. Names and surnames of the interviewees and all other persons mentioned in the interviews (e.g. other journalists, editors etc.) are already omitted from the transcripts, all answers are written in masculine form regardless of an interviewee's gender and the news media organisations the interviewees work for are unspecified.

RESULTS: JOURNALISTS' EXPERIENCES WITH PRECARIOUS WORK

In the following sections, we present our study results with respect to three main topics: precarious journalists' balancing of their work and free time, their collective actions for workers' rights, and their freedom of expression.

Difficult Balancing between Work and Free Time: "Your work *is* your free time"

Precarious journalists find it difficult to balance their work obligations and their free time. Our interviewees' responses range from "*if you know how to organise well, it can be done" (Journalist A), through "I have big problems with this*" (Journalist B), to "*your work* is *your free time*" (Journalist I). However, even the interviewees who assert that they somehow can manage to reconcile both, later in the interview they indirectly admit they have issues with this since their work interferes with their free time. For example:

> *I don't miss birthday celebrations, I know who and what is important, and I don't miss life events because of this [work]. Maybe I take my laptop with me, it has already happened that at some celebration I have been writing something, so I have pulled away for an hour or two, or that I have had to watch some event on TV or call somebody, make a phone interview. But it can all be done.* (Journalist A)

In the day of a precarious journalist, there is typically no clear dividing line between work and free time. As one journalist says:

> *The problem is that when you're on vacation, you're not really on vacation. You take a day off, but in your head you have 'I must finish this* [...]*'. There's constantly this pressure how to catch up with your obligations, to be there if they need you.* (Journalist B)

Precarious journalists feel the need to be constantly available to their employer and work generally holds priority over free time. For example: "*Free time has been totally subject to work. If I had to finish something or if they called me at some impossible hour, my free time had to wait*" (Journalist F).

Subordinating free time to work results in a precarious journalist's overwork. All of the interviewees note they have an excessive amount of work. For instance:

> *I work at least six days a week, most of the time, the sixth day at least for half day, but this is never fixed. Sometimes I work until ten in the evening, sometimes I write until two at night, sometimes I get up at five in the morning and work until five in the afternoon, as deadlines and editors demand.* (Journalist H)

One interviewee interprets the need to work excessively:

> *In this system, when you're a precarious worker, you're somehow handicapped. You have no rights, if you get sick, you don't get paid, or if you get injured or go on a holiday. You're really just dependent on how much work you do. And the system drives you on to push yourself even more and work all the time.* (Journalist D)

This life of a precarious worker can negatively impact their health and personal relationships. As Journalist H illustrates: "*Sometimes you already feel the consequences* [...] *you're totally tired sometimes. In the evening you cannot keep your eyes open anymore, you're like a zombie*". Or, according to Journalist I: "*Free time and relations suffer a lot* [...]. *After four or five years, this starts to show in some way on your health and how you feel*". The interviewees also express concern about how they would keep such a life up if they were to have children. For example: "*I can't imagine how it is if you have a kid, how you combine this with a family*" (Journalist H).

When the interviewees talk about their work–free time situation, they tend to present it as normal. An interviewee who has worked at a birthday celebration explicates: "*You must take this as a part of life*" (Journalist A). Another argues: "*I don't know how it is to go on vacation and not work. But it seems to me that this is a part of me, that it is how a person lives*" (Journalist E).

Weak Involvement in Collective Bargaining: "Anyone who resists will be punished"

Precarious journalists' involvement in collective bargaining over their rights is quite weak, according to our interviewees. They are either not members of a professional organisation or, if they are, they mostly hold back and keep a low profile. The reasons for such a passive stance are their distrust of trade unions, bad experiences with organised action, scarce linking up with each other arising from the individualism of journalists generally and particularly the fear of consequences like losing one's job.

The interviewed journalists do not have much trust in trade unions as they believe the unions have not tried to make enough effort for precarious workers:

> *Here we are always forgotten, we are [treated as] just freelancers; I can understand that you don't have to fight for freelancers, but* [...] *we are not real freelancers. We are being exploited. From freelancers we became regular workers, with the same duties as standard employees.* (Journalist A)

And even when a collective struggle did place, it was unsuccessful: "*We tried* [...], *but it ended very poorly*" (Journalist B).

Fear of the consequences is noted as a main reason that precarious workers do not wish to raise their profile by going on strike or put themselves forward in some other way in an organised collective struggle. Namely, some of the more active fighters had already faced consequences:

> *Journalist C: Today, I know that this courage [to go on strike] will not happen as the situation in [media organisation] is too serious, there's too much fear and anyone who resists will be punished.*
> *Interviewer: In what way?*
> *Journalist C: They will cancel his contract or reduce his fee, or make him go away by himself.*

According to the interviewees, precarious journalists who resist by fighting individually (filing a lawsuit) or collectively (within a trade union) are either directly dismissed or indirectly pressured to leave the job: "*those who were on the barricades lost their job, they instantly became unwanted, they didn't get assignments anymore*. [...] *And if they didn't leave by themselves, they were told: we cancel your contract on day X*" (Journalist D).

Still, not all precarious journalists share the same fear of losing their job. As Journalist F points out,

> *everyone has a very specific and individual situation, and it's hard to make wisecracks at someone who has a child at home, then there are people who make a living for themselves and their partner … a hundred and one situations!*

On the other hand, Journalist E claims he is unafraid of being dismissed from work: "*It would not be awful for me even if my contract doesn't get extended. Because if you are a precarious worker for a long time, this also means that probably you don't have any loans*".

The interviewees also attribute their weak involvement in collective action to their own passivity, rare cooperation and particularly individualism as a general characteristic of journalists: "*Even within our group we could not reach an agreement. We could not do it within our newsroom, within our media organisation, let alone outside of it. Journalists are too big individualists …*" (Journalist A). Precarious journalists themselves are to be blamed for not putting enough pressure on the trade union:

> *They don't demand from it to do something, they don't stand up for themselves, and they [trade unions] also don't do it on their own initiative. They fight for issues other than the rights of contractual workers, so they deal with problems which attract the most interest, the most pressure.* (Journalist B)

Precarious journalists do not ally themselves (enough) with each other, and also not with other journalists, partly due to their different interests:

> *The owners and politics have managed to divide journalists into castes. You have a caste of standardly employed, then a caste of some privileged journalists who are politically privileged, and then you have a very low caste of some contractual workers, and even a lower caste of people working as students.* […] *You have a caste system inside a media organisation. Because this has not been dealt with before, now it's very difficult to find common interests and on this basis some common fight. And there's no strong personality who would lead a trade union fight to some level.* (Journalist H)

Some interviewees' answers reveal they feel hopeless and even resignation, for example: "*At some point, I knew that it made no sense to run your head against the wall. If it's meant to be, it will happen to me by itself*" (Journalist D). Based on previous experiences (their own or from their fellow journalists), they believe they will gain nothing positive by exposing themselves, as "*you get nowhere, you just get yourself into some more trouble*" (Journalist F). They thus prefer a passive stance over active struggle.

(Self-)Restraining Freedom of Expression: "At your editor's mercy"

When asked about their possibilities of free expression, the interviewed journalists explicitly state that their freedom is (essentially) not under threat. Yet, it can be noticed that they understand threats to free expression merely in the sense of censorship. For example: "*You mean censorship? I have never been censored* […]. *I think I'm quite autonomous. No, there has been no censorship*" (Journalist A). Or: "*No article of mine has been censored, so I have been still relatively free in my work*" (Journalist C). And: "*I have never encountered direct censorship, only guidance and harmonising with editors*" (Journalist H).

Still, the interviewees' further explanations reveal a different image: even though they say their freedom of expression is not threatened by direct censorship, it is (self-)restricted in other ways, particularly when it comes to selecting topics to be covered. If precarious journalists have an opportunity to select a topic by themselves, they choose one that will be published at once and with certainty:

> *If you have standard employment, you can afford that something is not published, or that it takes a month or two for some issue to resolve and then you can get a full picture and present it. Now, when you're financially dependent, you must struggle from month to month to get some 800 or 900 euros so that you can survive, and you can't wait for something to be published. If you get 150 euros less in a month, you can't pay expenses. It's financial pressure.* (Journalist H)

Further, precarious journalists select topics which can be covered quickly and easily: "*We are expected to write as much as possible in the shortest time period. You self-censor and don't take big, complex topics because you don't have enough time.* […] *There's self-censorship, absolutely*" (Journalist I). When asked whether he would report somehow differently if he was not in a precarious situation, one interviewee responds:

> *Here a whole new story begins about how you work because you're paid by the article. Quantity is more important than quality.* […] *This is the message that we get. Definitely, if I had more time, I would cover some topics more in-depth.* […] *Now I get a better fee because I produce more.* (Journalist B)

Journalism quality is thus often sacrificed for the sake of producing more articles in less time.

> *You don't choose some exacting investigative issue because you can't afford it* […] *I have had some offers, where I could potentially uncover some story, which has involved many people or had a major negative impact on them, but as a contractual worker you simply can't tackle this. You would have to bury yourself in documents, for a month, two or three, to find more sources* […]*, but if you live from month to month, you can't do it.* (Journalist H)

Giving priority to quantity over quality leads to less in-depth and investigative journalism among precarious journalists:

> *The biggest problem with investigative journalism is that you can't afford it* […] *Because if you work for too long on one story, in the end you will not have money to pay expenses. Because your payment is not guaranteed. Actually, you must produce enough articles so that in the end you get a decent payment.* (Journalist F)

Choosing "easy-to-do" and "non-problematic" issues to cover and thereby self-restricting their free expression is not only connected to the financial pressure on precarious journalists, but also their fear of being sued. Legal protection has never been self-evident for precarious journalists. As one of the interviewees explains:

> *Every year they gave us a worse contract, one year they even wanted to abolish our legal protection, meaning that as a contractual worker you can practically work no longer, as then you really don't have freedom of expression anymore. If someone sues you for what you have written, you can stop writing, then you are bankrupt. You have to cover all the expenses by yourself, all the expenses of hiring a lawyer, all the expenses of a potentially lost lawsuit. This could mean the end of your career and a heavy financial burden.* (Journalist H)

One interviewee describes a situation when a lawsuit was filed against him personally and the plaintiff demanded damages of over 20 average monthly wage payments:

> *At that time, I was very frightened and it made me realise for the first time that as a contractual worker I don't have automatic assurance in legislation that my employer will cover the costs of a potential lawsuit related to my work, in contrast to standard employees. Then I told my editor that I can't do this job anymore because the section for which I was working was involved in more investigative and in-depth journalism. I told him that I want to do this job very much, but I can't take that risk.* (Journalist C)

Even though some news organisations have formally assured legal protection for precarious journalists in their contracts, the fear among journalists remains. Namely, it is not only about the possibility of being sued, but also of losing a job due to informal pressures created by someone who has good connections with the journalist's superiors: "*this person could call somebody above me who they know and, since we have loose contracts, we can be put out on the street easily, while a standard employee … what can they do to him?*" (Journalist A). This explains why precarious journalists prefer to deal with "easy" topics while leaving the "problematic" ones to the standard employees: "*if it's a burning topic, I don't go into it, but someone else takes it over*" (Journalist A).

On the other hand, refusing an assignment is not always an option. Similarly, if precarious journalists get into conflict with their editor they might not get (enough) assignments in the future: "*if you don't listen to him* […] *he can punish you by not giving you stories to write, which means less money for you*" (Journalist D). The interviewees talk about situations when they felt they were not in a position to refuse an assignment. For example:

> *The editor wanted me to write a commentary which was not based on my opinion, but his own.* […] *I wrote the commentary as he wanted it. You're simply not in a position to say 'no, I won't write it'* […] *You can turn it down, but then you can be almost sure to expect some punishment, a reduced fee or fewer assignments …* (Journalist I)

The interviewees believe it is easier for a journalist in a SER to refuse an assignment: "*If I was employed* […]*, I wouldn't have to cover some PR stuff* […] *yes, you present yourself very badly if you reject an assignment. Most of the time we, workers under contract, grab every assignment*" (Journalist B). According to Journalist I, as a precarious journalist "*you are actually in some way at your editor's mercy* […] *Too often, your well-being depends on personal caprice, agreeableness and likableness, on whether we are 'on the same page' with each other, whether we think and see problems alike*".

DISCUSSION

Regarding the first research question, content analysis of the in-depth interviews with Slovenian precarious journalists confirmed that the boundary between the work and free time of precarious journalists is blurred. As Hardt & Negri (2009) stressed, precarity imposes a new regime of time with respect to one's working day and working career; precarity is "*a mechanism of control that determines the temporality of workers, destroying the division between work time and nonwork time, requiring workers not to work all the time but to be constantly available for work*" (Hardt & Negri, 2009, 146). Our interviewees described being constantly available to their employer, not only at different hours of the day, but even while on vacation, because every assignment that a precarious journalist takes "*becomes the means to a new end: getting another job*" (Örnebring, 2018).

According to the interviewees, precarious journalists prefer to overload themselves with assignments than refuse them, even though this means that work interferes with their free time, in some cases even causing damage to their health and personal relationships. Examining the impact of precarious employment on working hours, work-life conflict and health, Bohlea and colleagues (2004, 19) found that long working hours, combined with low predictability and control, produce greater disruption to family and social lives and a poorer work-life balance for casuals than for permanent employees. Several studies (see Deuze & Witschge, 2018, 171) report that stress and burnout are on the rise among journalists working in a precarious situation, with many considering leaving the profession.

Accordingly, precarity might thus be conceived as "*a special kind of poverty, a temporal poverty, in which workers are deprived of control over their time*" (Hardt & Negri, 2009, 147). Precarity imposes control such that when journalists are working in a precarious situation none of their time is their own: "*You can, of course, think and produce affects on demand, but only in a rote, mechanical way, limiting creativity and potential productivity*" (Hardt & Negri, 2009, 147). The reality of journalists doing their job mechanically is clearly far removed from the ideal of journalists as alert, curious, critical and determined watchdogs who reveal abuses of power and otherwise act in the public interest.

Some interviewees' responses reveal they interpret this situation as normal. However, accepting a situation in which the dividing line between one's free time and work is blurred somehow also means the internalisation of precarity itself is normal. This may be linked to Örnebring's (2018) study which in a sample across 14 European countries showed that journalists are "primed" for precarity, that is, they largely accept precarity as a natural part of journalism: "*Job insecurity is viewed as an inescapable feature of the industry and furthermore a key part of how you as an individual organize and manage your career*". This pattern of thinking is strong among journalists also because of the strong historical heritage of labour oversupply in journalism, given the mythology associated with the profession that journalism is "*mobile, bohemian, insecure, highly competitive – but ultimately meritocratic*" (Örnebring, 2018).

Precarious journalists in their mid-twenties to mid-thirties are more likely to "*work long hours and irregular shifts*" (Gollmitzer, 2014, 834). One reason for this is that "*they do not have children (yet)*" (Gollmitzer, 2014, 836). Similarly, most of our respondents do not have any children and they raised concerns about their unsustainable conditions in the long term – working like that (without job security, a steady income and a balance of work and free time) while having a family was seen as problematic.

With regard to the second research question, this study demonstrated that precarious journalists' involvement in the collective struggle for their rights is weak. They mostly stick to passively observing a (potential) collective action as they do not have confidence that it will be successful and are also afraid of the consequences should the struggle fail. This holding-back attitude, when journalists persist in their uneasy situation of insecure employment relations rather than joining an organised collective action within a trade union, raises the question of their professional identity.

Even though the literature disagrees on whether journalism is a profession or not (e.g. Glasser & Marken, 2005; Tumber & Prentoulis, 2005), many aspects of journalism are conducted within the norms of professions (Rottwilm, 2014, 8). It is characteristic for a member of a profession that they are bound by some sense of identity. However, the changes to the nature of journalistic work and labour are transforming the nature of journalistic identity that was previously based on shared experiences and shared values: "*In terms of common experience, the growth in self-employment is arguably opening up a wider divide between journalists employed in institutions and those who work for themselves*" (Rottwilm, 2014, 19). The question is whether journalists can maintain an identity outside of their institutional setting at all.

According to Standing (2014), the precariat lacks an occupational identity and does not feel part of any solidaristic labour community. Precarious journalists are "*in career-less jobs, without traditions of social memory, a feeling they belong*

to an occupational community steeped in stable practices, codes of ethics and norms of behavior, reciprocity and fraternity" (Standing, 2014, 20). Their long-term planning has been replaced by job-hopping and portfolio work life, as they "*increasingly have contracts, not careers in journalism*" (Deuze & Witschge, 2018, 170–171). Further, since there is "*no 'shadow of the future' hanging over their actions*" (Standing, 2014, 20), they are lacking the sense that what they say or do today may very well have a strong or binding effect on their longer-term relationships. Precarious journalists simply endure in the present moment, from one day to the next; they do not look too far into the future, but carry out their job routinely, opportunistically and passively.

And, if for some reason, such as starting a family, precarious journalists cannot bear this situation anymore, they either leave the profession or file a lawsuit against their employer, which are both individualistic acts. As Örnebring (2018) emphasised, it is almost physically impossible for precarious journalists to frame their problems as collective problems, while their "*'habit of thought' to see precarity as a matter of individual responsibility prevents collective solutions*" (Örnebring, 2018). Among reasons explaining why their determination for collective action is so limited, the interviewees mentioned individualism as a general attribute of journalists. The journalism tradition indeed has individualistic tendencies "*that lionize individual uniqueness, creativity, and non-conformity*" (Borden, 2007, 116), which discourages collective action. Therefore, collective associating and organising is less likely to happen.

Regarding the third research question, our interviewees explicitly asserted that since they had not experienced any censorship, their freedom of expression had not been threatened. Yet, the absence of censorship still does not guarantee the possibility of free expression. The concept of freedom as "*the condition of being able to select and to carry out purposes*" (Merrill, 1989, 19) should not be understood as linked merely to negative freedom, which involves the absence of external constraints, such as obstructions, interference, coercion and control, but as embracing positive freedom as well, which refers to the effective capacity to do or achieve what one wishes, to choose and act on one's own initiative (Merrill, 1989, 22–24).

A journalist certainly needs freedom from restraints, such as censorship, but personal journalistic freedom actually revolves around positive freedom, that is, "*the freedom to act, to choose, to make one's self through choices and actions*" (Merrill, 1989, 23). Precarious journalists' freedom in this positive sense is undeniably threatened, as our interviewees indicated. A lack of positive freedom is particularly seen in the selection of topics to be covered. When precarious journalists have the opportunity to select topics by themselves, they do not decide based on what they believe is important for the public, but choose topics which can be covered quickly and easily and will be published at once and with certainty. Their apparent freedom to choose is not genuine since they act in this way out of fear, reflecting their precarious situation. If they do not select easy-to-do and non-problematic issues, they risk having fewer articles published, meaning less money at the end of the month, not to mention the fear of uncertainty in the event a lawsuit also emerges.

Our study supports the findings of the IFJ research report (Walters et al., 2006, 4) that insecure employment leads to a decline in critical/investigative reporting and to covering softer stories. Giving priority to the quantity over the quality of news content means less in-depth and investigative journalism, which is damaging for the journalistic mission of serving the public, considering the role that investigative journalism performs in a democracy "*by drawing attention to failures within society's systems of regulation and to the ways in which those systems can be circumvented by the rich, the powerful, and the corrupt*" (De Burgh, 2000, 11). Precarious workers generally do not feel part of any solidaristic labour community, which intensifies their sense of alienation and instrumentality in what they do: "*Actions and attitudes, derived from precariousness, drift towards opportunism*" (Standing, 2014, 20). Opportunism, however, is in contradiction with the principles of free expression.

Further, despite claiming that they enjoy considerable freedom of expression, the interviewees also admit they are usually not in a position to refuse an assignment since objecting to an editor may lead to not being given (enough) work in the future or being laid off. This is a constraint in the sense of limited negative freedom. Journalists are thus denied the right to which they are entitled under their ethics code (DNS & SNS, 2019, Article 28), granting them the right to refuse an assignment, which is against this code or professional journalistic standards (Article 28). Again, the appearance that they possess the freedom to choose whether they will oppose the editor or go along is illusory; due to their precarious status, resisting a superior can make their situation even worse.

Of course, all journalists, precarious or not, encounter certain difficulties with freedom on the personal level; they must follow directions and conform to editorial policies (Merrill, 1989, 24). The very nature of journalism demands socialisation, "*a sacrifice of considerable individual autonomy*"

(Merrill, 1989, 242). But precarious workers, with their loose contracts or even without one at all, thus lacking the legal rights of the SER, are undoubtedly in a more vulnerable position if they resist their superiors. Our findings confirm Rottwilm's (2014, 10) explication that self-employed workers are often less independent than expected when compared to the SER. Since the self-employed need to produce a decent income to make a living, they are driven by market demands, with self-employment often being their last chance, so they "*are limited by constraints through income and financial needs (due to the lack of an assured regular income), the overall economy and demand, taxation, and state regulation*" (Rottwilm, 2014, 10). Self-employment thereby removes employment rights and the employer's obligation to workers, transferring the risk and social costs of employment (sick pay, holiday pay and pensions) to the worker (Moore & Newsome, 2018).

CONCLUSION

Our study dealt with the problems precarious journalists in selected Slovenian national news media face due to their precarious employment in three areas.

First, with increased flexibilisation and precarisation, the work of precarious journalists often interferes with their free time. In a recent study by Woodruf (2020), increasing demands in journalism (including long or unconventional work hours, a tenuous work-life balance and doing more with fewer resources) and a feeling of being inadequately compensated were found to be key reasons why journalists decided to leave journalism and pursue a new profession. Dawson et al. (2020, 11) concluded that "[a]*t a time of great uncertainty, with employment prospects deteriorating, it is no wonder that journalists look beyond traditional journalism for their future*."

Work-life balance has become even more complex during the Covid-19 pandemic when the dividing line between life and work in all sectors has become unremittingly blurred and permeable (see Craig & Churchill, 2020; Gigauri, 2020; Magni et al., 2020). Access to policies that support work-life balance has been found to be unequal (and even exacerbated by the Covid-19 pandemic) among workers in different sectors, types of employment relationships and demographic groups (see Craig & Churchill, 2020; Kossek & Lee, 2020). According to a recent report on the contemporary trends in Slovenian digital journalism (Kaluža & Slaček Brlek, 2020), favouring work from home may be indirectly linked to the precarisation of journalism, while also contributing to the already problematic blurring of the boundary between free and work time.

Second, precarious journalists have many difficulties in organising and bargaining over their workers' rights. Recent longitudinal studies (Massey, 2020 for the USA and Dawson et al., 2020 for Australia) reveal the continual budget cuts and extreme volatility in journalism, denoted by large and erratic fluctuations despite an increasing number of news media organisations and the stronger demand for journalism skills. This has "*drained the reservoir of psychological resources that 'layoff survivors' draw on to cope with the turmoil*" (Massey, 2020, 13).

As the Covid-19 crisis has unfolded, these unfavourable employment conditions in journalism are even being exacerbated (Dawson et al., 2020; Massey, 2020) and thus the lack of a safety net for workers in atypical forms of work makes opportunities for collective bargaining even more difficult, especially as they are not included in the social dialogue, not organised and hence not represented (enough). In policy recommendations to ease the employment and social effects of the Covid-19 pandemic, European and international stakeholders (ILO, OECD, Eurofound, EU-OSHA etc.) have recognised the need to pay special attention to precarious workers (Szpejna & Kennedy, 2020). They dominate in non-standard types of work (but are found with SERs as well) and are specific to each sector (see Breznik & Čehovin Zajc, 2020). In accordance with the ILO *Convention on Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise,* in most EU states trade unions have the right to recruit and represent non-standard workers. However, despite some previous efforts made across the world (see ILO, 2015) this is easier said than done, because "[t]*hey* [still] *may simply not be able to join a union (by law), may fear reprisals for joining a union, or may not be able to afford union membership because of their volatile income*" (ILO, 2015, 2).

In 2020, Slovenian trade unions and policymakers have made some effort towards representing and mitigating the negative effects of the Covid-19 epidemic not only for SER workers, but for some vulnerable groups as well. Yet, the latter has received less/been omitted from governmental support. For example, self-employed journalists whose income was reduced due to the Covid-19 crisis could receive a basic monthly income for the period of the epidemic, while certain government measures to maintain employment were available for SER workers even after the epidemic (see Čehovin Zajc & Bembič, 2021).

Finally, our study shows that the conditions for precarious journalists to fully exercise their freedom of expression are not guaranteed. Considering recent government-proposed amendments to a set of media laws in Slovenia, the situation

could become even worse in the future. One proposed change is to defund the Slovenian public broadcaster. According to its Director General (in Wiseman, 2020), this would leave the broadcaster in a precarious fiscal position and, so as to offset the losses, it would be forced to cut the budgets for staff and production costs, which trade unions believe could lead to up to 400 job losses. Journalists who fear losing their job are more likely to behave self-protectively as the struggle for professional survival might force them to adopt an opportunistic stance, namely, one contrary to the principles of freedom of expression and critical reporting on issues of public interest (Poler Kovačič & Milosavljević, 2020, 26). Further, journalists who find themselves in lawsuits with politicians because of their critical disagreement, and those who are being humiliated, insulted and intimidated by political authorities, are unable to fully exercise their constitutionally guaranteed right to free expression. The threat of staff cutbacks as well as various interferences in journalists' autonomy and personal dignity (see Wiseman, 2020) might considerably influence precarious journalists who are already in a very vulnerable position.

Another source of concern is the impact of the coronavirus pandemic on news media (see Nielsen, 2020), which has brought health-related and other risks for journalists. Despite the increased audience interest in news media contents during the pandemic, their advertising and sales revenues have declined (e.g. Nielsen, 2020; Noorlander, 2020; Kaluža & Slaček Brlek, 2020) and are predicted to fall further in the next years (e.g. Mayhew, 2020). Media companies have been forced to reduce costs and journalists have been laid off across Europe (Noorlander, 2020). For example, a survey carried out by the International Federation of Journalists in April 2020 shows that two-thirds of staff and freelance journalists had suffered a pay cut, lost revenue, job losses, cancelled commissions or worse working conditions, while nearly every freelance journalist has lost revenue or work opportunities (IFJ, 2020b).

The European Federation of Journalists' Freelance Expert Group emphasises that the coronavirus crisis "*shows the lack of reliable social security schemes for freelancers and atypical workers in Europe*" (IFJ, 2020a), making it today more obvious than ever that a long-term sustainable strategy for protecting freelancers and atypical workers in the media and cultural sector is necessary. The circumstances described above render it very difficult for journalists generally, and precarious journalists in particular, to fulfil their essential role in a democratic society.

PROBLEMI PREKARNIH NOVINARJEV V SLOVENSKIH NACIONALNIH NOVIČARSKIH MEDIJIH

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POVZETEK

Ekonomski, politični in družbeni pritiski, ki so jih po letu 1970 povzročili hitra globalizacija, tehnološki napredek in mednarodna konkurenca, so privedli do vedno bolj prožnih proizvodnih procesov in destandardiziranih sistemov zaposlovanja, ki jih zaznamuje čedalje večja odvisnost od prekarnega dela, kjer so delavci prikrajšani zaradi nižje plače, nestabilnosti zaposlitve, omejenih možnosti za redno zaposlitev in omejenega dostopa do socialne varnosti (pokojninsko, zdravstveno, zavarovanje za primer brezposelnosti). Zaposlitev je postala manj varna tudi v množičnih medijih. Ta članek proučuje težave, s katerimi se zaradi prekarne oblike dela srečujejo slovenski novinarji. Proučujeva ravnovesja med njihovim delom in prostim časom, sodelovanje v kolektivnih pogajanjih in svobodo izražanja. Da bi dobili vpogled v njihove izkušnje, sva opravili poglobljene intervjuje z novinarji, ki so v slovenskih nacionalnih medijih prekarno delali več kot sedem let. Rezultati kažejo, da delo prekarnih novinarjev pogosto posega v njihov prosti čas, težko se organizirajo in pogajajo o svojih delavskih pravicah, pogoji za popolno uveljavljanje svobode izražanja pa niso zagotovljeni.

Ključne besede: prekarni novinarji, usklajevanje dela in zasebnega življenja, kolektivna pogajanja, svoboda izražanja

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SREČKO KOSOVEL'S PERCEPTION OF ARTISTIC CREATION IN LIGHT OF CROCE'S AND CESAREO'S AESTHETICS

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ABSTRACT

The article examines some constants in Srečko Kosovel's definition of art and its social role. Special focus is placed on a not yet definitively explored area, which was the influence of Cesareo's and Croce's aesthetics regarding artistic creation with which Kosovel was familiar and from where he adopted some ideas, such as the distinction between art and science or the equation of content and form.

Keywords: aesthetics, art, content, form, Srečko Kosovel, Giovanni Alfredo Cesareo, Benedetto Croce

LA CONCEZIONE DELLA CREAZIONE ARTISTICA DI SREČKO KOSOVEL ALLA LUCE DELL'ESTETICA DI CROCE E CESAREO

SINTESI

L'articolo si propone di evidenziare alcune costanti nell'opera di Srečko Kosovel, in particolar modo sulla definizione dell'arte e del ruolo, che essa svolge nella società. In particolar modo si focalizza su un aspetto ancora poco analizzato: l'influenza esercitata dall'estetica dell'arte creatrice del Cesareo e dall'estetica di Croce, che Kosovel conosceva e da cui ha acquisito alcuni aspetti, quale quello sulla separazione dell'arte dalla scienza e dell'identità tra forma e contenuto.

Parole chiave: estetica, arte, contenuto, forma, Srečko Kosovel, Giovanni Alfredo Cesareo, Benedetto Croce

INTRODUCTION

The Slovene poet and thinker Srečko Kosovel (1904-1926) often expressed his ideas, definitions, and elaborations on art and artistic creation in his letters, articles, essays, and diary entries. In his letter to his sister Karmela from 1 Jan 1924, Kosovel mentions Cesareo (Kosovel, 1977, 503) who is briefly presented in the footnotes by Ocvirk as: "*a poet and writer* [...] *who followed in the footsteps of De Sanctis and German aesthetics*" (Kosovel, 1977, III, part two, 1184–1185).

In his study dedicated to Kosovel, Zadravec does quote Giovanni Cesareo, but only in conjunction with the "spiritualization of matter" in order to emphasize that: "*(the impressionist) must imprint their "soul" to matter*" (Zadravec, 1986, 44).

Janez Vrečko mentions neither Cesareo nor Croce in his monograph on the poet. He does, however, focus on Kosovel's extensive concept of the equivalence between the content and the form, but which he ascribes to the poet's knowledge of constructivists (Vrečko, 2011, 134–161). Kosovel was undoubtedly familiar with Russian constructivists who emphasized the meaning of the equivalence of the content and the form (Vrečko, 2011, 134–161), but we nevertheless believe that Kosovel's definition of "*content ≡ form*" requires additional explanation. The poet marked it with a special symbol/ideogram, which had been introduced and first used by Gottlob Frege[1] in his work Begriffsschrift, but more on that later.

There are no discernible studies in literature expressly analysing the influences Croce's and Cesareo's aesthetics on artistic creation had on Kosovel's perception of it, so we will attempt to give a brief overview of the elements that Kosovel adopted and used from 1924 onward in his own articles, essays, or drafts for commentaries, letters, reviews.

A specific diary entry is very interesting for this research, in which Kosovel mentions Curcio's essay *L'estetica italiana contemporanea 1921* and also features a copied excerpt on futurist aesthetics (Komelj, 2019, 349). In his essay, Curcio presents an overview of the history of the development of Italian aesthetics and emphasizes the significance of three particular authors: De Sanctis, Croce and Cesareo. De Sanctis for distinguishing between the world of fantasy and the conceptual and emphasizing fantasy "*as a creative, intuitive, and spontaneous ability, the real Muse, Deus in nobis, that is organic in its essence and is the privilege of a choice few who are called poets*" (Curcio, 1921, 6). According to Curcio, "*art therefore creates, as it is fantastic. However, art is all form: the content has no value, because it is integrated, lost in the form*." And Croce because he was the first to establish aesthetics as the basis for the philosophy of spirit: "*The two are forms of cognition, the intuitive and the logical, the one using fantasy, the other intellect, the first is individual and the second universal, this former artistic and the latter logical in the general sense*" (Curcio, 1921,18). Cesareo was singled out for having complemented Croce, because: "*even though Croce sensed it, the creativity of art is Cesareo's concept*" (Curcio, 1921, 71).

The family library in their homestead in the village of Tomaj actually features both De Sanctis' *Storia della letteratura italiana* and the essay baring Srečko's signature with the inscription 1924, *Saggio su l'arte creatrice (Essay on Creative Art)* by Giovanni Alfredo Cesareo[2] from 1921. The essay is divided into four chapters: Function of Art, Creation, Expression and Form, and Art Critique. There is also an addendum on *Aesthetics* by Francesco De Sanctis. All of this indicates that Kosovel followed Curcio's definitions and began studying the very authors he believed were crucial for the development of Italian aesthetics.

The purpose of this study is to conduct a comparative analysis of the contents of Cesareo's essay and determine where and how Kosovel adopted some definitions i.e. terms on artistic creation and its social role. The data will be primarily sourced directly from Cesareo's and Kosovel's diary entries, essays, and articles; it will be compared and mutually interpreted. As reported by Miklavž Komelj, the National and University Library keeps a folder dated 1924 containing some of Kosovel's writings that expressly deal with the study of the work of art (Komelj, 2019, 298), which leads us to believe the year 1924 was a milestone for Kosovel from this aspect, because this was obviously when he began to expand on his theory of artistic creation.

I.

In order to get a better understanding of the subject matter and influences on Kosovel's contemplation on the characteristics of art and its role in society, we will adhere to the same layout of the subject matter as has been set out in Cesareo's essay. We will be amending this resource with other authors' statements, especially Croce, whom Kosovel read

1 Frege Gottlob (1848–1925) German mathematician, logician and philosopher, inventor of mathematical logic. Today, he is highly regarded as a thinker who set the foundation for the philosophy of language. His works influenced Wittgenstein as well as Bertrand Russell.

2 Cesareo (1860–1937) was a poet, essayist, literary critic, and playwright. He taught at the University of Palermo and was appointed a member of the High Council of the Ministry of Education in 1922. He became a senator under Mussolini's government in 1924.

in the German translation (Komelj, 2019, 308–315). In the foreword to the essay, Cesareo explains the intended principle purpose of the book, which is to awaken in young people a love and adoration for art and its beauty (Cesareo, 1924, 10). The essay therefore has a primarily didactic goal to explain the concept of a sense of beauty and to teach the basis on which the artistic can be separated from the unartistic. Starting with the very definition of art, Cesareo rejects both the empirical as well as the aprioristic approach. The empirical one because "*the definition of art cannot be extrapolated from an external phenomenon and a transmittal, which are always more or less practically oriented, but from an internal concept, which is exclusively theoretical, along with introspection and self-awareness*" (Cesareo, 1924, 17). The aprioristic because "*all of these sentences cloaked as pre-emptive judgements are merely subjective opinions that often transmute into tautologies, for if we disregard the experience, we cannot claim that art bears this or that attribute*" (Cesareo, 1924, 17). The author therefore proposes his own solution: human spirituality is composed of three elemental functions: the intellect, will, and fantasy, which coincide with three values: truth, goodness, and beauty. The first function, the intellect, is cognitive and is applied to scientifically examine the reality that surrounds us. The second, will, also steers our interventions in reality based on the first, while the third, i.e. fantasy (the most important for the artist), creates something completely new, different, something that cannot be found in the real world; this is creativity, as it enables the creation of art. Detecting the creative act in a work of art is the very thing that indisputably allows us to separate the work of art from everything else: the consciousness of creation (Cesareo, 1924, 19–20). Kosovel expressed his thoughts on this consciousness thusly: "*For all art is in its origin an expression of free creation, which can only exist in a free soul*" (Komelj, 2019, 143). Cesareo himself claims in a chapter of his *On the Freedom of Art*: "*The first and simultaneously most pronounced characteristic of a work of art is precisely the freedom,*" because "*the freedom of a work of art is reflected in the creation of new images, new proportions, internal syntheses that are not drawn by the mind from reality, but which are created in the artist's fantasy, they do not have the validity of reality, but only of beauty*" (Cesareo, 1924, 27–28).

Kosovel writes in a letter to his sister Karmela, dated 19. February 1923:

> *I read in one sitting Curcio's book "The Ideal of Life", which is very beautiful and profound.* […] *Curcio considers art to be ≡ fantasy, which can be completely understood coupled with his idealism, which means strict spirituality and is also its foundation: all of this is a construct of the spirit, just like life (body) is merely one form of spiritual life, a chance for the spirit to actualize.* (Kosovel, 1977, 483)

This insight enables us to deduce that Kosovel already began expanding on the meaning of art that year, with all signs pointing to the fact that he then focused his attention on it, partially reformulating it in accordance with Cesareo and Croce the following year, as is further supported by the folder from 1924.

Cesareo therefore considers art to be the creation of something new that is completely separate from reality. But human spirituality is an indivisible whole, so it is inevitable that all three of its components appear in it, but not with the same potential, allowing us to detect and distinguish between all three in a work of art to study them (Cesareo, 1924, 20). At the same time, the author emphasizes that since all three components are always inextricably linked in the artist's newly created synthesis, the aesthetic pleasure should not entail rationally dividing them, as this would prevent us from comprehending the essence of the work of art. In his essay *Art and the Proletarian*, Kosovel wrote: "*The artist has a new task to depict life from reality, transfer that reality into an artistic form, shape this reality into art*," because "*an artist must speak the truth, not lies*," if art is to be "*art for man*." (Kosovel, 1977, 24). This thought clearly expresses how Kosovel incorporated all three elements: art carries within itself condensed truth and goodness, which are then shaped to form the beauty of the work of art.

Cesareo goes on to clarify the term regarding the consciousness of creation, separating it from the cognitive function and the practical will. The author defines art as a product of fantasy, which is a characteristic of the human spirit and is therefore separate from both the cognitive principle and from practical will, i.e. firstly, because it is not tied to the thought's congruity with the subject, and secondly, because its desire to change is not tied to the external world, but the internal world of spirituality: its main goal is therefore beauty. The artist uses his own internal fantasy to create a different, alternate reality that he then wants to impart onto others, which is why he gives it shape. His desire is therefore not to change the external reality, but to create a new, completely different one, which the author calls "*volontà fantastica*" and designates it as complete freedom. The artist creates something completely new that does not exist in reality and therefore cannot be constricted by reality (Cesareo, 1924, 27–33). Similarly, Kos-

ovel writes in a short note: "*Art does not represent nature. It creates its own nature.*" (Komelj, 2019, 42). This clearly demonstrates that the poet agreed with the claim that art is not a kind of mimesis of nature, but that it rather creates its own world – nature. Similarly, when supporting his claim that "*it is not the idea, but the emotion that gives art its symbolic lightness*," Croce determines that "*each landscape painting is an emotional state:* [...] *not because a painting is a painting, but because a landscape painting is art*" (Croce, 1969, 33–35). In a writing entitled *On Art*, Kosovel claims: "*A scientist looks at the world with reason, people art is only understood with the heart. Art cannot be understood, comprehended with reason, at least not its essence*" (Komelj, 2019, 97). The thought is then synthetically recorded in the form "*scientific spirit ↔ poetic spirit*" (Komelj, 2019, 314) as opposing terms.

All of this supports the fact that Kosovel agreed that art is a creation of freedom that is reflected in a symbolic form and is strictly separated from science, because they have different goals. Croce similarly defines art's creative moment: "*In truth, we know no more than the expressed intuition: our thought is not as it is expressed in word*" (Croce, 1969, 43).

A work of art is therefore expressed intuition and this represents its artistic moment. Kosovel himself wrote about this thought by Croce: "*The creator's moment of art: It does not exist until it is created?!*" (Komelj, 2019, 311). At the same time, if art is intuition, it cannot have a cognitive character, which was expressly emphasized by Croce in his fourth negation on what art is not and cannot be (Croce, 1969, 21–25). Kosovel noted on this fourth negation:

> *4th last negation*
> ***Art is not conceptual-cognitive***
> *To intuition, everything that is organic is unseparated reality from spirituality*
> *etc.*
> *Looking for something completely new.*
> *[Beauty]*
> *The artist creates.*
> *Art is separated from science by the conceptual form. (From math, philosophy.)*
> *esprit scientifique ↔ esprit poétique*
> *completely contrasting* (Komelj, 2019, 310)

These synthetic notes clearly prove that Kosovel ascribed special meaning to the terms that were underlined. Science as such does not correspond to art, to which it is completely contrary, because art indisputably creates something else: beauty. This is because the artist:

> *Must be like an antenna receiving the most distant hints from the Cosmos, a sculptor, creating from himself the face of the future.*
> *His light illuminates the entirety, not a singularity, such as the light of the scientist, which is why he is religious.* (Kosovel, 1977, 95)

And also:

> *Art is a living realization. It is not like science, accumulating "objective" results but still cannot reveal what life is and what it is that perpetually powers it, moves it: it also does not seek, like science, the "eternal" laws of life.* (Kosovel, 1977, 96)

In his writing, which Kosovel then included in a letter to Vinko Košak on 2 August 1925 entitled *To Think Fast, Well, Clearly*, it is clear that he was nearing Cesareo's definition of the creative process:

> *If our relation to ourselves, to the world, and to people is profound, clear, grand; so our art will be grand. This is why the reality of our experience is one of the main elements of our life and in general of life's catechism.*
> *Forgo barren objectivity and naturalism; the object only becomes beautiful when placed in an interesting light, or a fantastical one, or a nice one, or a black one. Always consider that you are painting an object (a person, an event, an animal) on the canvas of your soul and that the subject only shines in that mysterious reflex called beauty.* (Kosovel, 1977, 383)

Which corresponds to the following:

> *As in the image: Never stand "en face", do not become stereotypical. The position of the subject reveals only half. Attack the problem in an original, but not forced manner. Naturalists were stereotypical. When you write merry poems, jump for joy to the ceiling, and when you write sad poems, bang your head against the wall. To feel emotional turmoil in a physical way is a precondition to artistic creation.* (Kosovel, 1977, 381)

Cesareo's writings reveal this explanation with an example:

> *A real artist is able to objectify their phantasm to then follow its law, observe it, listen to it, and follow it as if it were foreign to their spirit. When Flaubert wrote his novel Bouward e Pecuchet, one of his comments said*

> *"… I feel I am becoming one of them. Their failings are mine and I feel as if I am going to burst."* (Cesareo, 1924, 85)

This example leads one to assume that Kosovel internalized that depiction by Cesareo and shared it with a friend. It explains what Kosovel had in mind when he spoke of the internal, spiritual experience of nature, life. Croce claims something similar when he writes that

> *The emotion and the image, outside the aesthetic synthesis, do not exist for the artist's spirituality:* […] *for art is not an unimportant daydream, nor is it a restless passion, but rather the surpassing of all of this with a different act, or if we prefer, replacing these passions with others, yearning to design and admire it, with all of the pains and joys of artistic creation.* (Croce, 1969, 41)

The artist should therefore not merely aimlessly daydream, but should rather try to exceed or replace this daydream with artistic creation and internal composition, the perception of the image of the work of art. And it is precisely in this artistic objectification in which the artist watches, observes, and creates a new image, a synthesis of content and form.

Later on in his essay, Cesareo transitions precisely to this key concept, which is the interconnection between content and form. The author staunchly opposes those who still insist on separating the content from the form. To him, the two are completely equal. In his opinion, the artist (here, Cesareo means all artistic forms) imagines the content simultaneously with its form so that both appear as a synthesis and are therefore inseparable. The content is not something the artist would a priori imagine and then integrate into the form: the artist simultaneously imagines the form of the work of art, which is simultaneously the content, so they are inseparably connected. A work of art is art not because of the feelings, the facts it depicts, but because of its form, the total vision emanating from it and negating the value of its individual elements into the only value, which is the feature of the work of art, which is beauty. A piece of art is therefore a creation for its own purpose, a new synthesis (Cesareo,1924, 35). Of course, it allows us to separate the content from the form, but we do so by using our intellect, never when we are experiencing it through fantasy (Cesareo,1924, 36). Art is namely a pure (form) shape that creates within itself smaller forms, reabsorbing them into itself; feelings, perceptions, thoughts, passions that are created from the first draft of the creation are themselves created; creations, if we insist, contents, are negated by the form in its synthesis. Content is form (underlined in the original) (Cesareo, 1924, 88).

Different starting premises also lead Croce to unequivocally state that:

> *The truth is precisely this: that content and shape (form) may be separated in art, but cannot be separately defined as artistic, precisely because the artistic element is their connectedness or their unification, not as an abstract and dead unit, but as factual and alive, pre-existing in their synthesis; art is true aesthetics, an emotional synthesis of a priori images in intuition, about which we may claim that an emotion without an image is blind and that an image without an emotion is empty. There exist no emotion and image outside the aesthetic synthesis for the artistic spirit.* (Croce, 1969, 40–41)

In his writing *To Be or Not to Be*, Kosovel draws next to item one "*Content ≡ form*" this special sign, which proves that he was completely taken by Cesareo's and Croce's definition of a work of art as a synthesis of content and form (Komelj, 2019, 28).

In his essay entitled *Crisis*, he explicitly stresses:

> *The difference between content and form in art disappears for ever in the museum of aesthetics; the content wishes to express itself in a free, modern organic form, it wants to be the content and the form all in one, making way for constructivism.* (Kosovel, 1977, 13)

In the first sentence, Kosovel obviously takes issue with those segments of literary critics who separate the content from the form and ascribe the latter a special aesthetic value. As Kosovel had accepted this new idea of the unity of the content and form, such theories should according to him be banished to the museum, as they are no longer useful for the understanding and evaluating of new art. Here, we should also add that both Cesareo and Croce staunchly oppose, each from their own perspective, aestheticians who separate the form from the content and are therefore focused on studying the aesthetic element, or the moral, the conceptual one, etc., while also both claiming that art eludes them, because they look for it in places it does not exist. In the second sentence, Kosovel synthesizes both Croce's and Cesareo's definition of art as a free creation that is reflected through its organic form, in which content and form are completely interlocked. A particularly interesting aspect here is Kosovel's conclusion that the next logical step is to choose constructivism. Therefore,

if we dissect the poet's deduction, his belief that the content and form are bound together to form the core, the essence of artistic creation, it follows that constructivism is especially complementary to this kind of understanding of creativity, that it is its consequence. We also add:

> [This is why] *content and form in art should often be discussed. It is true that new times demand new forms, but these should not always be merely visually new, but also deeply new in their interior, as the form also carries its own exemplary interior*. (Kosovel, 1977, 209)

From this new concept, derived from Croce and Cesareo, Kosovel extrapolates a subsequent argument that the artist (and consequently the work or art) is placed in a certain historical period (which was also supported by both authors), which dictates some new expressive means. If these new means are not integrated with the new content, they belong in the "aesthetician's museum". Kosovel's expressed sensitivity of righteousness and humanity and his knowledge of Russian constructivism (Vrečko, 2011, 235) allowed him to merge the "*new forms*" of constructivism with this "*new content*".

Kosovel elaborates on this concept in his writing entitled *Letter*:

> *For art that places its essence into form is not art, but virtuosity. But we all know that an artist does not create his works of art for the museum, the aesthetician, or for the artist, but for man and for life*. [...] *Such poets have nothing to say. There is no fire, no blood in those poems, no real pain or beautiful love, all there truly is, is the bare literary slogan adopted from poetics*. (Kosovel, 1977, 94)

In this paragraph, the poet once again underlines where the separation between the content and form leads and for this reason "the poets have nothing to say". The following sentence leads us to believe that Kosovel adopted Croce's definition of art as "*a content that is shaped and a form that is filled, so that the emotion is illustrated and the figure is sensed*" (Croce, 1969, 41), because he explicitly emphasizes that these poems have no fire inside them, no blood, no pain, nor beautiful love.

This congruity is even further illustrated with his writing:

> *Not with mechanic reality*
> *condensed with a blind causality,*
> *the genius shapes reality according to the laws*
> *of his spirit, that genius is the poet,*
> *upon whom reality bestows the content and the spirit the form* (Komelj, 2019, 284)

This is further supported by this writing:

> *Away with literary theory*
> *And weathered aesthetics*
> *The soul of matter (Pilon)*
> *The matter of the soul (Jakac)* (Komelj, 2019, 281)

Here, the concept of content and form is once again evident, as in the cases of Pilon and Jakac, with a simultaneous critique of mechanisation, science that functions as a "*metre*" in which "*death*" is located. A poet-genius who shapes "*his reality*", the leading principle is "*the movement*", which is the "*rhythm*" and "*rhythm: content*" (Komelj, 2019, 291) or

Statics
↕
dynamics (Komelj, 2019, 351),

that the workers will create from *"the rhythms of the collective part of the rhythms of the new collective art, the rhythms of a new song about the fight to assert human rights for all echelons of human society"* (Kosovel, 1977, 25), because *"our art will be a reflection of our human struggle and our search and its form will grow from our own evolution"* (Kosovel, 1977, 20).

He goes on in his diary entries:

> *Truth — Goodness — Beauty.* | *When searching for the essence of art, beauty, taste pleasure must be — eliminated.*
> *Beauty, taste, pleasure* | *too relative and variable for pinpointing the essence of art.*
> *They must be eliminated (T)*
> *To me, God is the mirror of harmony: a cosmos in spiritual form, a man: man God.* (Kosovel, 1977, 696)

This entry also speaks to this conclusion, as Kosovel synthesizes his position in which he still emphasizes the merging of the content (God, Cosmos, man) with the (spiritual) form, which leads to the harmony "man God". It is namely true that

> *Form – content*
> *Art – life*
> *Healthy, robust, and strong. The barrenness of form.*
> ***Content!*** *It should be born by us from life.* (Komelj, 2019, 492)

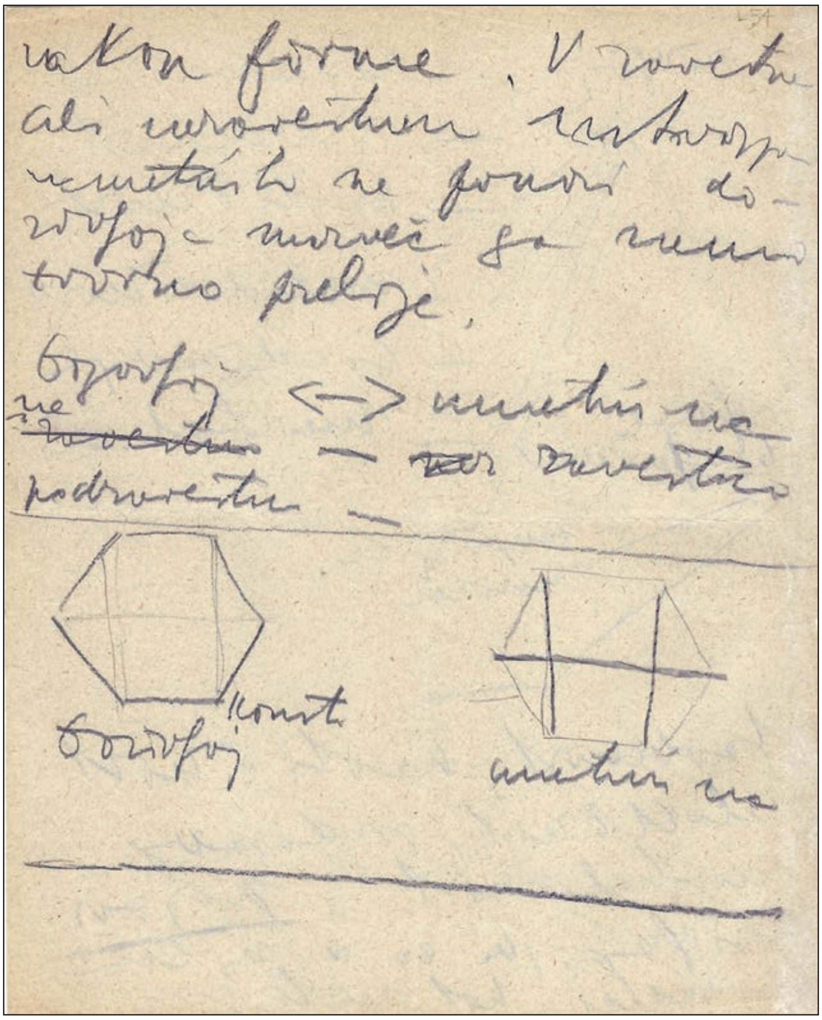


Figure 1: Two hexagons: the first depicts an experience with the inscription Konst, the second a work of art.

Deep inside, the artist must relive the beauty of life, because only in this way will this be able to be the true "**Content!"** that is reflected in the beauty of the artistic form, in which "man God" will also be able to finally live. This is the topic of discussion with Ivan Prijatelj, in which he writes that "*what does an artist experience in explicitness? The same truth in symbols as a philosopher in terms*." (Komelj,2019, 294), to which the poet adds:

> *This is not true,*
> *science-intellect*
> *art-soul*
> *dead analysis*
> *living organism* (Komelj, 2019, 294)

Science is therefore "*dead analysis*", "*metre that is death*", while in art there are the soul, life, movement, rhythm, because "*the tree flowers with a finite number of blossoms, that is the rhythm. A blossom is a blossom, there are no half-blossoms*" (Komelj, 2019, 291). Similarly, there cannot be half a work of art, if it is reflected as the synthesis of content and form.

An especially interesting aspect of this is the writing Kosovel accompanies with a sketch of two hexagons:

> *Construction, chaos, melody, gradience, musicality, the experience, in it are in themselves internal laws of the form. In conscious or unconscious creation, the artist does not repeat the experience, but materializes it into form himself.*
> *experience↔work of art*
> *subconsciously – un consciously*
> *subconsciously* – (Fig.2)

This is followed by a graphic illustration with two hexagons (Fig. 1). The first depicts an experience with the inscription Konst, the second a work

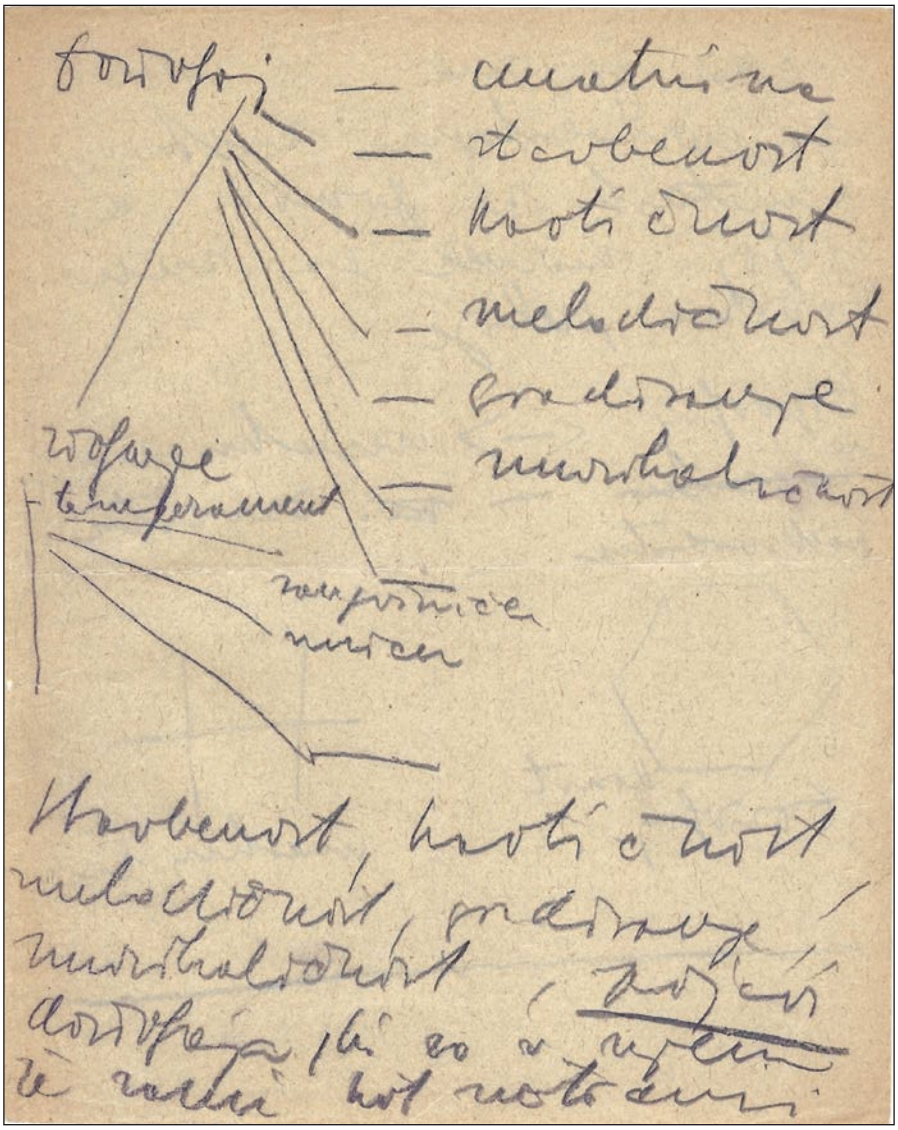


Figure 2: The description of external impressions.

of art. This is an extremely significant inscription in which Kosovel in essence accepts and reshapes Croce's and Cesareo's portrayal of the work of art. The instances of experience are already defined as an inner form and the inscription Konst next to the hexagon illustrates the experience that Cesareo had already called the internal transformation of new external impressions with internal spirituality. Next to it is an altered hexagon depicting the artist's "material transformation". Here, it should be emphasized that Croce in his aesthetics strongly opposed both the separation of art forms as well as genres within literature. He believed art is a priori an indivisible intuition and it is therefore completely irrelevant how it materializes. Similarly, although not as radically, Cesareo claimed that the artist in his fantasy creates a form that he then selectively shapes into a poem, a painting, a building, etc., depending on his vision, which completely suited Kosovel, as it enabled him to "*start walking the extreme path in poems as well*" (Kosovel, 2006, 241). If the artist believes that mathematical symbols/signs and geometric shapes, such as in the poem Grey (Kosovel, 2004, 182), most appropriately merge/reflect the contents, then they must be used.

At the same time, Kosovel also claims that the artist creates "consciously or unconsciously": unconsciously according to Croce, consciously according to Cesareo. Especially interesting is the separation of the experience from the work of art, as this is also the essence of Cesareo's formulation of creativity, as has been indicated above.

The copies and notes Kosovel made while reading Bernhard Ten Brink are also interesting. The following sentence expresses a similar sentiment:

> *With true poets, the form is extremely organically linked to the content, while for imitators, the form has swum to the top and it is no longer formulation, but the formalism of form.* (Komelj,2019, 357)

On another piece of paper:

> *The most important among them is undoubtedly the relationship between the form and the content, the manner of illustration. (8)*[3] (Komelj, 2019, 359)

> *Of course, one who does not live this new life, cannot also create new content that births a new form.* (Kosovel, 1977, 37)

According to Kosovel, this is why a revolution in art was unable to take place in Slovenia:

> *A revolution in art could not last, because it was only a revolution of form, but which was not rooted in our circumstances. As many times before, it turned out that form in art is only the certain expression of its content, that the form of the work of art is biologically merged with its contents and is therefore inseparable from it.* (Kosovel, 1977, 41)

For this reason, Kosovel persistently strives to create a revolution in art, because

> *Art is the religion of modern, new life. Not the art that still depicts knights and princesses, court life, and that places all of its exertions into the shape of the form. Not that art. Because art that places its essence into form is not art, it is virtuosity.* (Kosovel, 1977, 94)

These poets are therefore completely "*without content*" and "*they have nothing to say*". The modern poet should be "*so closely merged with life to feel its faintest beat*", because only "*the real artist is a symbol of transformation, development, and new life. His development runs before life, because the artist creates the future.* [...] *His light must illuminate the entirety, not a specificity like the light of the scientist, which is why he is religious*" (Kosovel, 1977, 94–95). With this in mind, we understand the significance Kosovel ascribed to the term religious. The scientist can illuminate (explain) a few aspects of reality, but the artist creates its entire image and because "*art is a living realization*" that "*does not need civilisation*", it is religious. "*She wants man. This is why she breaks the stiff, established artistic form that has become the norm to civilized people, breaks the form that makes her cold*" (Kosovel, 1977, 97). To that end: "*To sum up*: *the new "artist", who does not call himself that, but perhaps futurist, expressionist, constructivist, zenitist, etc., is not bound. He is free in content and form. But not entirely. What is more: to him, the content is a condition of the form, even more, to him content ≡ form*" (Kosovel, 1977, 104). In his work Ideograms, Frege established a formalism, which is used to solve the logical confusions of linguistic communication, and introduced a number of ideograms and operations, which were used to express the basic logical processes of communication. The sign ≡ was defined thusly: "*The sign for the equivalence of contents signifies a circumstance in which two different names have the same contents*" (Frege, 2019, 25). As is evident in Budget (*Proračun*) (Kosovel, 2004, 201), Kosovel consistently differentiated between Frege's ideogram (rectilinearity ≡ a // b) for the equivalence of content and the algebraic equals sign (finances = 0). He was also familiar with and used the symmetrical characteristic of the equals sign, as is evident in e.g., Kons 5: "*dung is gold / and gold is dung*", "*0=∞/ ∞=0*" (Kosovel, 2004, 187).

All of this clearly states how essential the synthesis of content and form is to Kosovel. A synchronous image is created within the artist, be it the fruit of the synthesis of fantasy or a priori aesthetic intuition whose content has a form and whose form has a content. They cannot be separated without losing the fundamental characteristic of a work of art, which is its integrity, from which beauty stems. Beauty in art (any kind) must be regarded as a whole that stems from both the form and the content of the depicted, as they are equivalent. This also implicitly includes the thesis that we do not change the work of art, because: "*If we rob poetry of its rhyme, rhythm, and its words, there does not remain, as some claim, beyond all of this, a poetic idea: nothing remains. Poetry was created as those words, that rhythm, and that metre*" (Croce, 1969, 45). In terms of Kosovel, this means that Spherical Mirror (Kosovel, 2004, 154) was created like those verses and a depiction that must not be changed, as this would consequently demolish/alter the entire structure, content, and its beauty.

II.

Both Croce and Cesareo are in agreement that art cannot be subjected to a moral judgement. Croce supports this claim by stating that art is not a moral obligation, because it is not the product of

3 The number is in the original.

will. Cesareo claims that the goal of art is neither truth nor morality, but beauty. Kosovel consolidates the two mentalities in this thought: "*Art cannot be a servant to morality and science; if the two are artistically combined, the advantage is naturally on art's side*" (Komelj, 2019, 309). This claim also reveals how Kosovel substantiated his transition to Integrals, this poetry with an expressed social charge and of course, to the poems that more or less explicitly contain political insinuations (*Italian Culture, Ej hej!*). However, this is not contrary to his claims about separating science from art, because the condition is that the two are "artistically merged" so that they no longer have their recognizable function, but an artistic function.

Both Croce and Cesareo strictly separate between science and art. Croce's position is that:

> *One who asks of a work of art whether it reflects the truth or not is asking the wrong question,* […] *for differentiation between the truth and untruth always relates to some kind of judgement about reality or to an opinion, but it (the judgement) cannot be oriented to the image, which is* [the fruit of fantasy]. (Croce, 1969, 22)

> *Cesareo claims that the goal of science is truth and the goal of art is beauty.* (Cesareo, 1924, 144)

Similarly, both authors specifically insist on the unity of content and form as the only one that can reflect beauty. Cesareo understands the creative act as an inseparable whole that is created within the artist's spirit as an initially inseparable unit of a form that already contains the content with its inseparable form. For Croce, "art is an intuition" that "creates a cluster of images" that represent the "symbol". And because "*the thought in a symbol is not something separate that could be thought as separate from the represented symbol*", so "*the thought is completely incorporated into the represented (symbol)*" (Croce, 1969, 28–31).

It is therefore not surprising that Kosovel used a special sign to underline that the content is equal to the form. The artist can only achieve beauty if he is capable of creating a unified whole, because "*the suitable expression, if it is indeed suitable, is also beautiful, for beauty is nothing more than the correctness of the image and with it, the expression,*" as "*expression and beauty are not two concepts, but a single unity that can be used interchangeably with each other*" (Croce, 1969, 48).

Cesareo also clearly defines art as beauty that therefore cannot be judged and rated. This is not because it is beyond good and evil, but because its goal is beauty. However, the author does acquiesce that an artist can create a new morality that is articulated in their creation, although he also adds that we must not separate its morality aspect (content) from the whole (form). In Kosovel's final period, after his turn "to the left" with "his eyes closed", it is clear from his writings what he deems to be the central role of modern art: truth. This is a value the artist emphasizes repeatedly and that defined his final period. "*The triumph of truth in cultural, of humanism in economic, of virtue, in social life will be the greatest triumph of modern man*" (Kosovel, 1977, 11). Kosovel's new content is therefore also reflected as a need to emphasize justice and truth in art. On the other hand, some of Kosovel's writings from late 1925 seem to indicate that the poet had changed his mind and denied the significance of beauty in art. By utilizing the previously stated facts, we will attempt to argue that Kosovel had not in fact changed his mind. In the conclusion of his essay *On "Art"*, Kosovel claims:

> *Therefore: do not look for form in this new life, look for the man. And art will no longer be a "joy", but rather a solace.* (Kosovel, 1977, 105)

Kosovel laid out the starting point for this argumentation in his article *Art and the Proletarian*, in which he thusly elaborated on his opinion regarding the art of the time:

> *The bourgeoisie has claimed all the cultural channels and enslaved the artists in the process. It tried to rob them of the freedom of opinion by publicising the motto: art for art's sake. This was its manner of saying: Artist, pay no heed to what is happening in your life, whether or not it is just or unjust, but write, write, art for art's sake.* (Kosovel, 1977, 23)

Kosovel's definitions of such art have already been exhibited in previous quotes. This is actually not art, as it is only reflected in its empty, aesthetic form and is therefore only suited to museums. Kosovel writes in his deliberations *The Basic Principles of Christ's Teachings*: "*Christ used his death to deny the value of the physical and elevate the beauty of the spiritual life.* […] *It was Christ's teaching that searched everywhere for a man, a man with a heart*" (Kosovel, 1977, 47). This leads us to believe that the beauty of spiritual life is expressed by love governing interpersonal relationships, which carries with it justification. It is therefore not surprising that Kosovel denied this external, aesthetic beauty that begets pleasure and replaced it with a different, a spiritual beauty that is reflected in this "*new*

art" that is presented in this "*new form*", offering solace, if it creates "*a new harmony between man and his surroundings, new religion, the religion of community as a unit*" (Kosovel, 1977, 57). "*If the goal of man is only good (and beautiful)*" (Kosovel, 1977, 64), then it follows that:

> *who grows in beauty and eternity, deteriorates to society, because they grow in God. And so, the poet is a synthesis of generations that have striven for absolute beauty when they felt within themselves a fraction of a shiny cosmic building in which God resides, a symbol of a weightless, bodiless eternity* (Kosovel, 1977, 81).

This thought already clearly emphasizes the unity between the beautiful and the good, meaning that what is good and righteous is also beautiful and therefore the poet is "*a priest in the name of beauty*" (Kosovel, 1977, 82). This is where the artist's role springs, from which he is to draw from life to create a new future in a new form. Art as religion that creates new humanity and therefore new beauty; its mission therefore is not and cannot be "*the enjoyment of beauty*"; its new, revolutionary mission is to act as a "*religiously spiritual force*" to "*lead life*" (Kosovel, 1977, 86) and its poet, the priest, must stay faithful to its main mission: the truth. It is namely "*the vessel for everything else: beauty, freedom, eternal life*" (Kosovel, 1977, 96). Thus, the circle is completed: beauty is not fashion, it is a moral value that is reflected in truth and justice.

III.

In the second part of the essay, Cesareo focuses on analysing creativity. Here, we believe two aspects should be pointed out: namely, that the artist can draw the material for his creation from himself, create it, or from his life experience. Similarly, Kosovel noted that "*creating means bestowing upon the soul concrete, organic forms – the soul and the spirit*" and that "*to spiritualize matter is to engage in spiritual creation*" (Komelj, 2019, 50). Secondly, Cesareo believes that the principle, the goal of poetry is to simply and only humanly strive for higher Beauty. We know that Kosovel often touched on the significance of beauty and described what it meant to him. As could be inferred from the previous quotes, both Croce and Cesareo understood the beauty of art only in the merger of its content and form. Cesareo defines the beauty a work of art as "*creating something that supersedes empirical reality, a beauty that is not natural beauty,* [...] *but spiritual beauty that supersedes reality*" (Cesareo, 1924, 118). In his definition of the concept, he quotes Baudelaire's definition: "*For the principle of poetry is, pure and simple, man's striving for a higher Beauty*" (Cesareo, 1924, 119). Previous quotes also infer that Kosovel understands the beauty of art as something that stems from the integrity of the work of art, not from its form. Only the beauty experienced by the artist enables him a deeper understanding and therefore a better articulation of the content in the form.

IV.

In the third section, Cesareo addresses expression and form and the way the artist decides to transmit his work to others. Here, it is important to emphasize the statement that expression can be any verbal, graphic, mimic, phonic, or any type of means with which people express their thoughts (Cesareo, 1924, 158).

At the same time, Cesareo and Croce make an important distinction between grammar and rhetoric. The first serves us in our everyday lives to form sentences that allow us to communicate, while the other strives toward synthesis and is therefore freed of grammatical principles. The artist creates his art by following an internal instinct and if a new style of language needs creating, the artist should create it:

> *The creative nature of the artistic language is reflected in the constant tendency to rebel against any rule: the poet unearths many unused words, creates them; changes the sound and meaning of existing ones; breaks logical rules and grammatical ones; modernizes rhetoric; aids himself with rhythm; creates expressive organisms in which the value does not lie in what they express, but what they suggest; their virtue was not in them par sé, but in the form and the song, the ideal synthesis into which they were merged.* (Cesareo, 1924, 208)

Kosovel wrote on a piece of paper: "*Open verses, not rimed. Internal rhythm, internal composition. The poetry of half-tones./Healthy, sick dissonances.*" or "*All you need are living expressions that express in a hearty and melodic manner exactly what you think; avoid everything that has faded in the usual use*" (Komelj, 2019, 102, 111). As well as the following:

> *Of course, this kind of construction immediately breaks all the rules. The maxim is: use everything if you want to express yourself and what you have seen through the soul. The soul is the norm, not dead aesthetics.* (Komelj, 2019, 47)

A Roman numeral three has been written in the upper right corner, which could also indicate the third chapter of Cesareo's essay, in which the author expressly discusses creative expression and in which he emphasizes the artist's freedom of expression, to which the general grammatical rules do not apply and that allows him to "*use everything*" (Cesareo, 1924, 207–213) to express the soul.

Croce also focuses on critiquing rhetoric, to which he ascribes two errors: the first is the one separating content from form, the second that Rhetoric is in the form: "cause harm by separating "embellished" language from the "simple" one, because "*the appropriate expression, if it is appropriate, is also beautiful, for beauty is nothing other than the precision of the expressed, the expression.* […] *Expression and beauty are not two terms, but a single term that can be expressed with one word or the other simultaneously*" (Croce, 1969, 48). Taking into account the fact that Croce believed separating between artistic fields was wrong and unnecessary, then Kosovel's use of different symbols in poems and him organizing "*words in space*" is clearer. If these express the aesthetic intuition appropriately and precisely, they are beautiful.

V.

In the fourth and final chapter, Cesareo addresses literary critique. In it, the author focuses on the issue of the correct reception of a work of art. The reader is said to be basically reliving a similar process as the artist, with the exception that his creative act differs from the author's because the aesthetic judgement is not universally objective, but it is universally subjective, common to all people (Cesareo,1924, 224). Kosovel sums this up: "*A poem is like a curtain. Someone stands behind it and talks*" (Komelj, 2019, 99). The reader is therefore completely actively involved in the dialogue with the poet and thus not only does he recreate the work of art, but by doing so, also experiences aesthetic pleasure (Cesareo, 1924, 228). Croce says:

> *Art is a vision or intuition. The artist creates an image or a phantasm and whoever enjoys the work of art directs their gaze in the same direction as the artist, peeks through the cranny that has been revealed to them to reproduce that same image within themselves.* (Croce, 1969, 15)

Kosovel wrote in a short note on psychological critique:

> *The final result would be to look for the aesthetic experience of beauty as the shrine of all experience, based on general psy[cho]- logy. This would be the fairest research method.* (Komelj, 2019, 278)

He leaves no doubt when defining the critic's work with an underlined sentence, dated 7 March 1924, which is especially significant in this case: "*Study of art/for its complete experience and its aesthetic judgement*" (Komelj, 2019, 298–299).

These writings also demonstrate his agreement with Cesareo's statements that the literary critic must in himself experience the beauty of the work of art and search within it for the beauty of harmony between the content and form. If one of these methods are suitable to achieve this, its use is justified.

In his article *Critique, the Motor of Life in Art*, Kosovel thusly summarizes and synthesises Croce's definition of the ideal literary critic:

> *The critic's ideal must be to relive each work of art, intuitively searching for art in it, for even though art grows from life, it does not reproduce life, but itself creates into its own new life. This is why the critic must not look for a logic of emotion in a work of art as the naturalists did in the past, but rather for that something unknown from which art actually exists and cannot be comprehended, only sensed. That is when a critique will deserve the name "aesthetic critique, which is the only real art critique. (Croce 82).* (Kosovel, 1977, 205)

When warning of erroneous aesthetic judgements, Cesareo very clearly states that:

> *A literary critic who does not account for the diversity of the harmony of rhyme and rhythm, hiatus and syneresis, who neglects the composition and rich meaning of an individual word, who ignores the lexicon and is too true to grammar,* […] *will never be a good critic.* (Cesareo, 1921, 277)

To this, Kosovel adds:

> *A critic must be a person who kisses the work of art with his own mouth to feel its life force. A critic is a contemporary to the artist, so he must draw from the present, from life.* (Komelj, 2019, 258)

In terms of art history, Cesareo believes that there are no more or less beautiful works of art, however, that it is also true that

> *(Human) spirituality cannot be established as a creation if it does not escape its phenomenological reality. And this limitation is the limitation of an experience, of a practical experience that is different in every artist, every century, every town.* […] *In this way, the piece of art, if it is freely synthesized, enforces (on the reader, A/N) the awareness of the limitations of which it has managed to break free.* (Cesareo, 1924, 281)
> *This is why the biography of the artist is necessary for understanding the genesis of the work of art in the poet's spirituality. And because art is realized as a spiritual unit in historical reality. This is precisely why art can have and always has had its history.* (Cesareo,1924, 288)

Kosovel claims: "*I do not believe in the development of art. The old art says to me: This is what I am like, what are you like*? And I have to find and create my own art*" (Komelj, 2019, 56). This statement contains two ideas: first, that the concept of art is eternal and as such does not know development; and second, if an artist is placed in a certain time and place, he uses the beauty of his own (and his time's) means. Therefore: "*The artist needs the basic principles of geometry Cube, sphere, point, line plain*" (Komelj, 2019, 116). The thought is thusly concluded:

> *Rhythm in life bore rhythm in art. The moving soul expresses itself with movement*
> *Everything must be torn down, a new living aesthetic must be built that will determine the relation to the content and the form.* (Komelj, 2019, 116)

This not only illustrates the poet's transition to a new phase of his creation, constructivism, but also as to how a new form must conform to the new content (humanity). A new rhythm of life (content) requires a "*new living aesthetic*" (form), because "*language is the form of matter to a poet*" (Komelj, 2019, 119), if "*poetry is not a pose /but the truth*" (Komelj, 2019, 123).

CONCLUSION

This research has shown how important the year 1924 was for Kosovel's future creation and how it shaped his understanding of a work of art and its social role. It is evident from his diary entries, articles, and essays that he paid special attention to studying art theory. He most likely identified a few starting concepts in Curcio, which led him to read Croce's aesthetics and to purchase Cesareo's essay, from which he extrapolated most of his conclusions and then consistently emphasized them. It is not possible to definitively conclude from the presented material as to whether he finally settled on Croce's idea of intuition a priori, or whether he leaned more towards Cesareo's definition of art as conscious creativity. Both concepts are mentioned in his diary entries, essays, and articles.

Kosovel did completely adopt some definitions and conclusions, mostly those regarding which the two authors agreed. He differentiated between art and the artistic act, which is not tied to the external world and creates in itself a synthesis between the subject and the object, and between other experiential fields, such as history, maths, and biology, which examine the outside world as the subject of study, whose examination runs along a logical procedure. This is why Kosovel continuously emphasizes this bipolar relation in his writings and graphically depicts it as contradictory.

A similar conclusion can be made regarding the definition of art as a creative act, which is mentioned by Croce as an illogical intuition a priori, or as a product of fantasy, which is one of the three functions of human spirituality, like in Cesareo. Kosovel does in some instances define art as intuition, in others as conscious creation. In any case, his definition of art as a creative act does include the thesis that art in its creation is completely independent from both external reality as well as morality. From the former, because it does not imitate it, but creates it anew, from the latter, because it is not tied to the external world, but to the subject of the created.

A key concept for Kosovel was his adoption of the concept of the inextricability of content and form, which was vehemently and theoretically supported by both authors. This belief that Kosovel continually emphasizes in his elaborations and writings is very clearly visible at the content level in his creation of konses as well at the level of literary critique. In the first case, this unity enabled him to create a new, expressly humanity-oriented content with contemporary forms of expression. Croce's and Cesareo's rejection of rhetoric and claims that any symbol, as long as it corresponds to the symbolized, is appropriate and beautiful, enabled Kosovel to propose a theoretical foundation and justification to develop towards a spatial organization of the text according to constructivist principles. Along with his familiarity and acceptance of constructivist principles, the poet would obviously also deepen the theoretical premises of artistic creation and found quite a few underlying principles in Croce and Cesareo that supported and enabled some of his most daring artistic creations. He expressed their definition of the equivalence of content and form with Frege's

ideogram. The second consequence was that he outright rejected both artists who placed priority on the form and were consequently "empty, empty, empty" as well as art critics who separated the content from the form when examining the work of art and about whom the poet believed belonged "in museums".

Even in terms of evaluating the beauty of the work art, the unity of the content and the form has certain consequences. The beauty is in the new conceptualization of a work of art as a successful fruit of the merger of the two. Beauty does not derive from the coordinated text, its organization, sonority etc., but from the synthesis between the symbol and the symbolized. It is therefore clear why this unity was so favoured by Kosovel; it enabled him to transition to the expressive means offered by constructivism, to "words in space". As a result, he vehemently rejected the old interpretation of beauty. To him, beauty was simultaneously the content and therefore the truth. He was able to create conceptual and stylistically expressly contemporary art that was at the same time socially engaging without remaining on the level of experimental toying without any content or content engagement with no new form. It also implies the thesis that a literary critic must not interfere with the work of art and correct it or even change the words in it, because it was created as a unified whole. By interfering, it becomes mangled and "nothing remains of it". With all of this in mind, it is therefore completely incomprehensible and inexcusable that there are still some who choose to interfere with Kosovel's creations and thusly distorted poetry keeps being published. To the contrary: the reader and/or literary critic should respectfully approach the work of art and listen how "[t]*he nightingale is / captured in my heart*" (Komelj, 2019, 327).

POJMOVANJE UMETNIŠKEGA USTVARJANJA SREČKA KOSOVELA V LUČI CROCEJEVE IN CESAREOVE ESTETIKE

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POVZETEK

Članek skuša raziskati nekaj stalnic v Kosovelovi definiciji umetnosti in njeni družbeni vlogi. Posebno se osredinja na še ne povsem raziskano področje, in sicer na vpliv Cesareove in Crocejeve estetike o umetnostnem ustvarjanju, ki ju je Kosovel poznal in od tam prevzel nekaj zamisli, kot so ločenost umetnosti od znanosti ali o identičnosti vsebine z obliko. Tako je ločeval med umetnostjo kot ustvarjalnim dejanjem, ki ni vezano na zunanji svet in v sebi ustvarja sintezo med subjektom in objektom, ter drugimi spoznavnimi področji, kot so lahko zgodovina, matematika in biologija, ki pa gledajo na zunanji svet kot na objekt spoznavanja, katerega preučevanje poteka po logičnem postopku. Ključnega pomena pa je pri Kosovelu prevzem koncepta o neločljivosti vsebine in oblike. To prepričanje, ki ga Kosovel neštetokrat izpostavlja v svojih razmišljanjih in zapisih, se lepo kaže tako na vsebinski ravni pri ustvarjanju konsov kot tudi na literarno kritični ravni. Ta enotnost mu je omogočila usklajevanje nove, izrazito človečansko naravnane vsebine, z novodobnimi izraznimi oblikami. Zatrjevanje, da je katerikoli simbol, če je skladen s simboliziranim, primeren in lep, je Kosovelu omogočil razvoj k prostorski organizaciji besedila po konstruktivističnih načelih. Lepota umetnine, ki izhaja iz sinteze med simbolom in simboliziranim, je Kosovelu omogočila prehod k izraznim sredstvom konstruktivizma, k »besedam v prostoru«.

Ključne besede: estetika, umetnost, vsebina, oblika, Srečko Kosovel, Giovanni Alfredo Cesareo, Benedetto Croce

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